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CEYLON AND THE HOLLANDERS

1658-1796

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P. E. PIERIS

THIRD EDITION

ASIAN EDUCATIONAL SERVICES
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CEYLON AND THE HOLLANDERS

1658-1796

BY

P. E. PIERIS

DERANIYAGALA SAMARASINHA SRIWARDHANA

Litt. D. (Cantab).

THIRD EDITION

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COLOMBO

To

THE HON SIR ANTON BERTRAM, Kt. K.C.

Chief Justice of Ceylon,

who, East of Suez, finely upholds

The Cambridge Tradition,

this book

Is Respectfully Dedicated

" Where there is no vision, the people perish."

INTRODUCTION

Many visitors from Europe since Saar of Nuremberg (1647-1658) have left on record their experiences in Ceylon during the time of the Netherlands East India Company, and the most important of these narratives have been translated into English and published from time to time. Much information is contained in the pages of various Journals and Magazines, and an important series of seven Memoirs issued since 1903 by the learned Government Archivist and his able Assistant, Mrs. Anthonisz, has shed a great deal of light on the administration and policy of the Company till 1740. Sir Alexander Johnston, Chief Justice of Ceylon from 1811 to 1819, left behind a valuable collection of manuscripts, much of which has been rendered accessible to me through the great kindness of Mr. A. W. Winter of Baddegama. In addition, private documents in Sinhalese Walauwas throw an interesting and personal sidelight on the period. Out of this material the present compilation has been made, in the hope that it will furnish the average inhabitant of Ceylon who can read English with a co-herent, reasonably accurate, and perhaps not uninteresting account of his country during its transition from the mediaeval to the modern. The Medal shown in the Frontispiece was very kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. H. de O. Ekanayake of Matara.

This book is the sequel to another, Ceylon and the Portuguese, written for publication in England. Though the issue of this latter has been delayed by war conditions, the reader has been treated as not unfamiliar with its contents.

P. E. P.

The Judge's House,
Jaffna.

NOTE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The text of this edition is substantially the same as in the first, but for the inclusion of a few pages based on French authorities and information obtained from the Record Office in London.

Mount Airy,
Kandy.

P. E. P.

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GLOSSARY

Adigar, originally a judicial officer, but later applied to the two chief Ministers of the King.

Adukku, cooked provisions supplied to an official.

Aldear, from Port *Aldea,* a village.

Andi, the Indian fakir.

Amu, the *Varaku* of the Tamil, an inferior grain.

Amunam, as a dry measure, varies between 4½ and 6 bushels. The extent required to sow an amunam of seed was the chief unit of superficial measurement ; while usually 24,000 nuts formed an *amunam* of areca.

Appuhami, highborn men of the position of the sons of Mudaliyars.

Atapattu, originally the selected troops who formed the King's Guard.

Badavedili, Dutch *Accommodessan,* lands given to public servants for their maintenance while in office.

Bana, the doctrine of the Buddha.

Basnayaka, a high native official, acting as the mouthpiece of the European official.

Bera, a cubic and superficial measure, the eighth of an amunam.

Bo, the *ficus religiosa* under which the Buddha attained Perfect Knowledge.

Bulat Surulla, a handful of betel leaves, usually enclosing a money present.

Cabook, a species of stone, laterite.

Chalia, a caste of weavers mainly employed in collecting cinnamon.

Dagoba, a shrine of brickwork erected over a relic.

Devalaya, the temple of a Hindu deity worshipped among the Buddhists.

Disavani, a Province administered by a Disava.

Dugganna Rala, a courtier.

Duraroba, an imposition levied on cinnamon for the benefit of the Duraya.

Duraya, the headman of the Chaliya.

Esala, the month of July—August.

Etbandana Rala, the Chief of the Elephant Hunt.

Factory, a store where goods were collected for purposes of trade.

Gabadagama, Royal village.

Gaja Nayaka, the Master of the Elephants.

Gane Bandar, same as Maha Nayaka.

Govigama, the chief caste among the Sinhalese.

Gouva, a Sinhalese measure of distance, about four miles.

Hena, land under forest and cleared for cultivation at long intervals.

Huvandiram, an imposition similar to the Duraroba.

Kadavatu, thorn gates used for closing and guarding the public thoroughfares.

Karanduva, a bell-shaped receptacle for a relic.

Katti Mangalaya, a religious festival held in November.

Kitul, a palm with strong timber. *Caryota Urens.*

Kodituvakku, small cannon which could be transpoted by a couple of men.

Kraal, an enclosure formed of beams for capturing Elephants.

Lacham, a Tamil dry measure, used like an amunam as a superficial measure as well. *Sinh* laha.

Larin, a coin of Persian origin, formed of a silver bar bent into the shape of a hook.

Levaya, a salt pan in the Southern Coast.

Madappalli, a Tamil caste.

Maduva, a structure in the nature of a large shed.

Magul Poruva, the ornamental platform on which the marriage ceremony is performed.

Maha Nayaka, the Chief High Priest.

Maligava, lit, a structure consisting of several stories. This is the usual name given to the Temple of the Tooth.

Mohottiar, Mohottala, a Secretary.

Mohundiram, a Military Officer. The word is probably not of Sinhalese origin It is frequently applied as an honorific to Malays and members of the Smith Caste.

Morgen, A Dutch measure of area containing about $2\frac{1}{3}$ acres.

Mudaliyar, chief military officer commanding the Hevayo or Sinhalese militia, who were named Lascarins by the Europeans. Twenty five Lascarins formed a *Ranchu* under an Arachchi.

Mukkuva, a fisher caste of Tamil origin.

Muttettu, lands belonging to the lord of a village.

Nalalpata, the metal band which was secured to the forehead in conferring rank.

Nindagama, a domain of the nature of an English Manor.

Pansala, the residence of a Buddhist priest.

Parava, a caste of Fishermen from Southern India, who were employed as divers at the Pearl fishery.

Patangatyn, a term usually employed for the headmen of the Parava and similar castes.

Pehidun, uncooked provisions supplied as Rajakariya.

Perahara, the chief religious festival of the Sinhalese, called so from the processions which are an essential portion of the celebration.

Pinda patika, one who subsists on the food he begs from door to door.

Plakaat, a legislative enactment.

Polaya, a tax levied on coconut palms.

Rala, an honorific applied to men of high birth.

Ranchu, a band of twenty five Lascarins under an Arachchi.

Ran Doliya, the Royal Consort of a King, as opposed to the Yakada Doliya, a Govigama Junior Queen.

Rata Sabha, a Council of the leading men of a Rata.

Ridi, Same as Larin, five *ridi* were equal to a rix dollar.

Samanera, an unordained Buddhist monk.

Sannas, a Royal grant.

Sri Pada, the Sacred Foot-print of Buddha.

Sulu Disava, a sub Disava, over an inferior Province.

Tanayama, a house used as a resting place on a journey.

Tavalam, cattle employed to convey loads on their backs.

Tombo, a Register of lands and of men.

Upasampadava, the Buddhist monastic Admission.

Vanni, the wild region lying approximately between Anuradhapura and the Jaffna Peninsula. It was in change of semi-independent chiefs called Vanniyas. (Vannichchi, feminine).

Vasala, the residence of the King, sometimes applied to the residence of lesser officials.

Vatu Badda, a tax levied on planted lands.

Veda Rala, a doctor.

Veddahs, probably the aborigines of Ceylon, a race similar to the Bushmen of Australia.

Vellala, the chief caste among the Tamils of Jaffna.

Vidane, a supervising officer ; there were various grades of such.

Viharaya, a Buddhist place of worship.

Yakdessa, one reputed to have certain magical powers ; usually a lay priest at a Devalaya.

CHAPTER I.

The curtain which had fallen on the last crowded scene in the mediaeval melodrama, was raised again to show the interior of a business establishment which the Hollanders were employed in reducing into some semblance of order. A conspiracy against them was discovered at Jaffna, and fourteen of the alleged ringleaders were sentenced to death. In order to strike terror into the hearts of the disaffected, horrible punishments were inflicted on the condemned men; three of them were stretched out on wooden crosses laid on the ground, and after being stabbed in the neck and breast, were disembowelled; their hearts were then taken out and laid on their mouths, after which their heads were cut off and exposed in the market-place. A Jesuit was beheaded and eleven others were hanged, their bodies being left to rot on the gibbets. A resolution was also passed by the Council placing on record an expression of gratitude to Almighty God for the success obtained over the Portuguese, and the 20th of November, 1658, was fixed as a special day of thanksgiving and supplication for His further aid: anyone failing to observe this order became liable to a fine of a hundred rix-dollars.

The territory of which the Netherlands East India Company now found itself master in the South of Ceylon extended from the Maha Oya to the Valave Ganga, thus including the entire Matara Disava and the most valuable portions of Saparagamuva, Satara Korale and Sat Korale which at one time had been administered directly from Kotte. Inland its frontiers were marked by the forts of Sitavaka, Anguruva tota, and Katuvana. In the North the kingdom of Jaffnapatnam, including Manar and extending vaguely to the frontiers of Trikuna Male, acknowledged its authority, which however was but lightly felt in the Vanni. The Bentara River served to divide the Sinhalese districts, the Northern portion being entrusted to a Disava stationed at Hulftsdorp, outside the fort of Colombo, and the Southern to a Commandeur at Galle, to whom the Disava of Matara was subordinate. There was a Commandeur at Jaffna having precedence immediately after the Governor at Colombo; this latter was appointed by the Supreme Government at Batavia, and was assisted by a Political Council of the highest officials. Executive functions were carried out by a Civil Service of six classes, distinguished by trade names such as Merchant and Under Merchant. Boards were organised for the administration of justice and the spread of education and the Christian religion among the people of the country; while

orphanages and poorhouses were started for the benefit of the needy among the Hollanders themselves.

The principles, if such they could be called, which had guided the Portuguese in the mismanagement of the occupied territories, were never adopted by the methodical Teutons; they had succeeded to an estate, badly neglected and run to weed, it was true, but with great possibilities and latent resources; these were now going to be developed with patient husbandry and a reasonable consideration for the well-being of the native inhabitants.

Matters were indeed in a deplorable condition. From Negombo to the Valave Ganga the country was largely waste and unpopulated; the rich tracts of rice fields were lying abandoned, with their dams and water channels destroyed, and the reservoirs breached and useless. The Southern coastroad was so infested with wild elephants as to be dangerous to travellers Thick tropical forest covered many a happy village which in 1505 Lourenco de Almeyda had eagerly scanned from his vessel, and on a generous estimate the population did not exceed 350,000, though the Galle District was in this respect somewhat better than Colombo. At the same time the population of Jaffna was calculated at 120,000 souls.

It was of the first importance that the country should pay its way and not be a drain on the Company's resources and energetic steps were taken to secure this object. The food supply had to be increased, and therefore the Company began cultivating rice importing several thousand Tamil slaves from South India, who after being branded with its mark were set to reclaim the rice fields; even the work of fortifying Colombo was considered secondary to this urgent question. Poverty and debt had so seriously affected the villagers that numbers had sold themselves into slavery; a regulation was accordingly passed forbidding the purchase or taking in mortgage of any person's last property which was essential for his maintenance.

Instructions were given to repair Kattakarai, the tank which once fed the wealthy province of Mantota, and like many hundreds of others was now lying in a ruined condition; its extent was so large that it was named the Giants' Tank by the Hollanders, who anticipated that the lands which its water could irrigate would be sufficient to feed the entire North. The sluices of the Musalai river had to be kept in proper order further to conserve the supply of water, and the Tamils of the Peninsula induced, in spite of their strong prejudices, to settle as cultivators in Punaryn. The numerous wells which formed so striking a feature of the dry Tamil kingdom, were to be attended to, and the cattle which had been killed

off by disease and the demands of the European soldiery, replaced by importations from India.

Other industries also were taken in hand ; silk worms were introduced from Bengal, and an attempt made to start the systematic cultivation of the indigo which was found wild in some parts of the country. Cotton growing was encouraged and weavers and dyers enticed over from the Choromandel Coast, to compete with the trade which formed such an important source of revenue there. Heavy duties were imposed on imported tobacco, in order to protect the home industry ; while a local mint issued in reasonable abundance a copper coinage which, though of the crudest execution yet seen in Ceylon, removed one of the main difficulties in the way of trade.

Success, however, could hardly be expected unless the hearty cooperation of the natives of the country were assured. It was of the highest concern that justice should be carefully administered, and the mind of the Teuton had an instinctive respect for law. The Digest of Plakaats and Ordinances which Maetsuyker, who since leaving Galle had risen to be Governor General, had prepared under the name of the Statutes of Batavia, was introduced, but experienced Sinhalese invariably occupied seats on the Land Raad Courts, which were mainly engaged in deciding land disputes, in order to see that all ancient customs were observed. The Disava continued to exercise a summary and paternal jurisdiction in respect of smaller matters.

In the North the Portuguese officers were replaced by Tamils, four Mudaliyars being appointed over the four Provinces of the Peninsula. Special consideration was shown to the mild and obsequious Vellalas, and no undue haste was to be employed in forcing a new religion upon them. The Christianity which the Portuguese had left behind was very nominal in character and consisted of little more than the capacity to say a few prayers, and to make the sign of the cross ; indeed several Christians had already applied for permission to resume their Hindu practices. Religious instruction therefore was to be given to all and children compelled to attend school, preparatory to their being received into the Reformed Church. Everyone was obliged to attend Church service, and listen to the lengthy sermons of the energetic Philip Baldaeus and his fellow workers, absentees being punished with fines which were used to pay the schoolmasters. The results of these attempts at conversion were soon reported to be as gratifying as the Portuguese had found them. The *Thesa valamai*, or the Custom of the Tamil country, was retained as the basis for legal decision so long as it appeared to be consonant with reason, all deficiencies being supplied from the Dutch Law. At the same

time the practice of child marriage was discouraged: the daughters of the Hollanders themselves did not marry till they were twelve or thirteen years of age.

There were about two thousand Sinhalese Lascarins on the rolls, and these were provided for their maintenance with *Badavedili* lands, now called *Accommodessan*. They continued under the orders of the Disava, Pierre du Pon being the first to be appointed to that position in Colombo. His duties were most varied; he was responsible for the military outside the fort, the maintenance of roads and the draining of swamps, the development of agriculture, and the general well-being of his district. He was also expected to see that prayers were said at the outstations every morning and evening by a well-conducted junior officer. Even petty matters of detail were the subject of regulation: the prices of foodstuffs were fixed, and overseers appointed to supervise the bazaars and markets. Only pious men who regularly attended divine service were to be licensed as bakers.

The necessity for the proper maintenance of its own people was not ignored by the Company. The burgher class, representing the free European settlers not in its service, was to be recruited as much as possible from them; and they were given liberal grants of land with the right of free trade throughout the settlements; where possible they were preferred to natives for appointment to office. They alone were privileged to keep shops to the exclusion of their energetic rivals the Moors, whose further settlement in the country was forbidden. Old residents were permitted to remain though their occupations were restricted to agriculture and navigation; and Indian Moors were encouraged to visit the ports of the Island with merchandise.

As the frequency with which the Company's soldiers were marrying native women caused some anxiety, it was resolved that such marriages should not be permitted unless a clergyman certified that the selected bride professed the Christian religion. These wives had to attend religious service once a week, under penalty of their husbands' wages being forfeited, and their daughters were to be carefully looked after in order to supply wives to the next generation. Much difficulty was experienced in keeping the Teuton sober, and an attempt was made to brew a mild and wholesome beer from paddy. "This seems to be a necessary measure" wrote Van Goens, "because we find—God help us— that our men cannot be made to avoid drink."

But peace was essential for the success of the new scheme of administration, and to secure peace the Company was ready to pay almost any price. The army's strength was fixed at 2000 Europeans besides the

native levies, strict discipline was insisted on, instructions were given to strengthen all the fortresses, and a close watch was kept on the frontiers.

The Vanni chiefs received special treatment ; the Portuguese had left them unmolested in their wilds, on condition of their paying a tribute of elephants in lieu of the tythes and taxes levied from the rest of the inhabitants in the North ; it was decided to continue this policy till an opportunity for their complete reduction presented itself. The Company feared that strict measures would drive them into the hands of the King, whereas they could be utilised as spies on him chiefly by means of the *tavalam* drivers who maintained an active trade between his dominions and Jaffna. They were however not all equally complacent, and the principal of them, Kaila Vannia of Panangamam, ignored Van Goens' summons to appear before him ; the policy consequently adopted was the favourite one of sowing jealousy against him among the rest. Directions also were given that the Veddahs on the boundaries of the Vanni were to be treated kindly, in case of future emergencies.

The one incalculable factor was the temper of the King, who was raging like a caged tiger. He had vowed never again to trust the word of the merchants who had outwitted him, but he was grateful to them for expelling the Portuguese who had ruined his country. He had remained passive during the last struggle in Jaffna, and even wrote to Van Goens in November 1658 expressing appreciation of his services. He was no longer King of *Kanda Uda Rata*, the Country above the Mountains, alone, but of *Sinhale*, the Country of the Sinhalese, including nearly a moiety of the *Pata Rata*, the Country Below, which had belonged to Kotte. His subjects were in a pitiable state and their poverty was so abject that infanticide was of shocking frequency. His prohibition of all trade with the Company limited their foreign intercourse to the ports of Puttalam and Kottiar, and they could no longer depend on that barter which once provided them with so many of their wants. Their hardships were aggravated when in May 1659 a Dutch garrison occupied the Portuguese Church at Kalpitiya, thus controlling the Puttalam trade.

Dense forests had been allowed to grow on his frontiers and also separated the various provinces, the only means of communication with the outside world being narrow passages which were strictly guarded and closed by thick thorn gates called *Kadavatu*. There was discontent among the people, but the King though he realised that his popularity was on the wane, was too engrossed in his own grievances to be regardful of the well-being of his subjects. A plot to poison him which was discovered and punished with terrible severity, made him suspicious of every one whose influence, wealth, or success attracted attention.

The Hollanders' policy was to keep him in good humour at all costs, and their attitude was deferential to the point of servility. Repeated embassies were sent with presents of rare animals and curiosities which he was known to appreciate, but none of these ambassadors would he allow to return. His hobby was to collect a perfect menagerie of the various European races which visited his dominions, and he thus got together a large number of Portuguese, Hollanders, and English, among the last being that Robert Knox who was taken prisoner at Kottiar in 1660, the fruit of whose long detention is perhaps the most valuable account of the Sinhalese people yet written by a foreigner.

The Hollanders' had reason to be nervous, for the cloud destined finally to overcast their domination had already reached the shores of Ceylon. For the last twenty years British and Danish vessels had been not unfamiliar sights at Kottiar, which afforded facilities for repairing them not available in any Indian harbour. The visitors had been well received and permitted freely to travel inland, so that they obtained an opportunity of learning the condition of the country. In 1685 the Directors of the British Company in London received a letter from one of their officers advising them to set up a factory at Kalpitiya, so as to secure a share in the trade of the Island ; and matters received a great impetus from the Treaty of June 1661, regulating the conditions for the marriage of Charles II with the Portuguese Infanta. It was there laid down that if either of the contracting parties succeeded in obtaining possession of the Island, Colombo was to be given to Portugal and Galle to England, while the cinnamon trade was to be divided between the two. The same year the British Directors applied to Raja Sinha for permission to build a factory and share in the cinnamon trade, and their advances were received not unfavourably by the King.

The Hollanders, excited by these proceedings, sent a force to Kottiar but soon recalled it because of sickness and took steps to fortify Point Pedro. Don Joan da Costa, their chief adviser regarding Sinhale, insisted that the English and Portuguese were acting there in concert, and that an attack on the eastern Coast or on Manar, was to the anticipated. Sir Edward Winter, the British Agent at Madras, announced bluntly the intentions of his Company and was warned that under the existing arrangements between the Hollanders and the King, any intrusion would be regarded as an unfriendly act.

Both nations were anxious to cajole the King into releasing his European prisoners, and their ambassadors appeared at Court in 1664. The King was at Nilambe, where he now resided during long intervals for the sake of his health. He had roused popular dissatisfaction to a dangerous

pitch by preventing the celebration of their greatest festival, the *Perahera*, this year, but the Europeans found him in a more complacent mood than usual. The English prisoners were collected from the various parts of the country where they were lodged and informed that the King was pleased to set them free, and then they were invited to enter his service. They hesitated, and were allowed till the next morning to come to a decision.

In the meantime a plot was brewing to kill the King and place his son on the throne, while a terrific comet which appeared for some days, filled the minds of all men with gloomy forebodings. On the night of the 21st of December, on which day the prisoners had been set at liberty: two hundred armed men attacked the guards who watched outside the palace gates at Nilambe and killed most of them while a few escaped within and joined the King. The conspirators followed and occupied the palace, the King with a handful of men being brought to bay behind a wall ; the old warrior had not forgotten how to handle the steel, and the majesty of his semi-divine royalty overawed them and they could not summon up sufficient courage to storm the barricade. The consequence was that in the morning the King, guarded by his men, sallied out, and driving elephants in front to crush down the jungle, escaped to the stronghold of Galauda behind Hanguranketa, fifteen miles away. The houses of his partisans were soon plundered by the English, and then the rioters, whose numbers had considerably increased, hurried to Senkada gala, where the Prince was living with the Queen, taking with them the English, whom they in turn attempted to win over to their side, though equally without success.

They now declared Raja Sinha deposed from the throne on the ground of misgovernment. According to Dutch reports they charged him with gross breaches of the law of nations in detaining the ambassadors of foreign governments and arresting such of their subjects as came to his country, and they declared that his vindictive policy had destroyed the trade of his subjects, while his cruelty was a source of peril to the life of everyone. Whether such reasons were advanced or not, they proclaimed the Prince as King in his room. The latter, however showed no enthusiasm for this dangerous honour. The 25th was fixed for advancing on Hanguranketa but in the meantime the Prince, accompanied by the favourite sister of Raja Sinha, escaped to the King. There was consternation among the rebels ; some fled home in a panic and in such haste that the courtyards of the palace were strewn with the coin they had brought with them and which the English hurried to pick up. Others fell to quarelling among themselves ; while one great chief declared for the King and seized on

the Capital in his name. It was noted with awe that on the night of the 21st the tail of the comet had turned in the contrary direction.

The rebellion was over, and the King found no difficulty in resuming control, the rebels paying a terrible price for their rashness, torture and confiscation of property being not the least of the penalties employed. Several Bhikkhus suspected of complicity and belonging to some of the best families in the country, were said to have been executed and their bodies cast into the river ; while the Prince disappeared, and for many years to come no one could ascertain what had happened to him.

The able but domineering van Goens, who as High Commissioner had not been able for some time to work in harmony with the sedate van der Meyden, and who had suggested to the authorities at Batavia that the Governor was finding the weight of administration too heavy for his years, was himself appointed to succeed the latter in September 1662. The trouble among the Sinhalese was viewed by the Hollanders with unmixed satisfaction, especially as war had broken out between the United Provinces and England ; indeed their Excellencies at Batavia wrote and expressed the pious opinion, that the Sinhalese rebellion was " a gift from heaven." What if any was the Dutch contribution towards it is not yet known.

The King, in his general distrust of his subjects, threw himself into their arms. At his request Hollanders were despatched into Saparagamuva, and occupied a large portion of this District as well as of Tun and Satara Korales, while a fort was built as Ruvanella and the Portuguese church at Saparagamuva was fortified. In September 1665 du Pon hastened to Trikuna Male on the rumour that the British proposed to seize the place and built another fort there. The Batavian authorities hesitated, for an extension of territory did not suit their policy ; but they were overborne by the insistence of van Goens, and acquiesced in what was being done, the more so as it was urged that the occupation of Ruvanella would divert a good deal of the arecanut trade from Kalpitiya to Colombo. They further agreed that Kalpitiya and Negombo should be properly fortified, and Chilaw, still in the King's hands, should be seized. At the same time some small duties on arecanut were surrendered to the King, in order to keep him in his present complacent mood.

The Company's affairs appeared to be prospering. Its first pearl fishery was conducted by van der Laan in 1666, when 400 boats took part. It was calculated that 200,000 people were attracted to the scene, and as all the water had to be obtained from one tank, this was soon contaminated and sickness broke out, 1,500 men dying in six weeks. In July of the

same year the capture of ninety six elephants at one kraal added a large sum to the revenue, while its attempts to increase the cultivation of rice were so well rewarded, that there was fear lest the Indian rice vessels which on the return voyage took away elephants, might be discouraged from coming; it was therefore decided to leave the cultivation more and more in private hands.

Conditions among the English at Madras also gave the Hollanders satisfaction, for in 1665 Winter with the assistance of the military turned his successor out of office and usurped the chief control; as this state of things continued till 1669, internal troubles prevented the British from interfering in Ceylon. Some awkwardness however was caused by the discovery that in 1667 the King had sent envoys to Madras. These men were seized and brought back by the Hollanders, but about the same time the King received a letter from Francois Carron, the conqueror of Negombo in 1643, who had joined the French and been appointed Director of the French East India Company which was started in 1664 with the assistance of Louis xiv. This Company contemplated a settlement in Ceylon, and Carron informed Raja Sinha that Louis intended at an early date to send a nobleman with presents. This no doubt elated the King, who at the same time was annoyed by the Hollanders steathily occupying Arandora, the scene of so much fighting in Portuguese times. A large force of Sinhalese was soon watching them and in October 1668 they drove the Hollanders away from the more remote districts of Saparagamuva.

The Company however was anxious about being implicated in hostilities, for though the war with the English was over, they were having much trouble with the potentates in South India. One of these, the great Nayaker of Madura, had as early as 1644 given them permission to erect a factory at Kayal pattanam, and when fourteen years later Tutucorin was captured from the Portuguese, the Company succeeded to the rights of the latter over what were known as the Seven Ports, which were the chief centres of the Paravas, the Pearl and Chank fisheries of Tutucorin, and the control of the Christian Paravas who supplied the divers. A treaty concluded in 1660 between the Nayaker and Van der Meyden confirmed the rights thus acquired while emphasising the liability of the Paravas of the Fishery Coast to pay the same dues to the Nayaker's Government as they had been accustomed to do under the Portuguese. Ramnad formed the Southern portion of the Madura Coast and was ruled by the Thever, a feudatory of the Nayaker, and Guardian of the holy temple of Ramesvaram. A separate peace, drawn up on a plate of copper, was entered into with him.

All these interests in South India were administered by the Governor in Ceylon, and van Goens was anxious to convert the Paravas into the

Reformed Church. Stout opposition was offered by the Roman Catholic clergy, and consequently numbers of them were banished from the sphere of the Company's influence. The Nayaker's Regent was not in sympathy with the Company's policy and sheltered the priests, who established themselves among the neighbouring heathen and continued to exercise their old influence over the Paravas, who were much harassed by the Nayaker's agents. Heavy impositions were laid on them; but the Company, though it found its trade seriously hampered, was afraid to assert itself, and was forced to have recourse to bribes and entreaties to secure the right to do the pettiest things. Its servants were prevented by the Nayaker's Maniagar, or renter of the revenue, from cutting firewood for its use; its letters were frequently intercepted; carpenters were forbidden to work at its vessels; the repairs to its factory at Tutucorin were stopped; extra duty was demanded on cattle shipped for Colombo; and the cloth-weaving industry which had been carefully fostered, was hampered by the levy of extraordinary duties from the weavers.

At a time when the fleet of Holland was burning King Charles' navy at Chatham, the Company was prepared to see its chief Resident, Hendrik van Rheede, compelled to pay tribute, its judges flogged and fined by the Maniagar, and Hollanders chastised for presuming to ride on horse back. It made an attempt to buy off the authorities, but van Rheede, who was sent with an expensive present, was treated with the utmost contumely. Several members of his mission were beaten, the Company's flag was dragged in the mud, no answer was vouchsafed to the letter which he had brought, and no farewell audience was accorded to him. The submissive attitude of the Company increased the Maniagars' arrogance and after the Fishery of 1668 the Chief Patangatyn of Manar was arrested, beaten and deprived of his money. The Tutucorin wells were placed under guard, and the Hollanders and Christians prevented from taking water from them. One Hollander who attempted to do so, was dragged before the Maniagar and forced to render obeisance to him on his knees. Even an endeavour to plant a hedge round the Company's premises was imperiously stopped. The result was that before very long trade had almost disappeared, and the Company become an object of ridicule along the Coast.

The authorities at Colombo however could not be persuaded to take action, but only entreated their agents to comply with every demand; as a consequence new requisitions were made in respect of the fishery, and an armed force was brought up to threaten Tutucorin. The divers were alarmed; no fishery could be held in 1669; and at last the Company made up its mind to meet force with force, and commenced hostilities, though with obvious unwillingness.

CHAPTER II.

Raja Sinha, whose Queen was a member of the Royal Family of Madura, was well informed of what was going on ; no doubt he also knew that the English were struggling for a share in the cinnamon trade and insisting that Kottiar was a free port where they were entitled to purchase the valuable drug. He had little to fear from his subjects, who were completely cowed, and his attitude towards the Hollanders began to be marked by increasing arrogance. To placate him certain shipping rights at Colombo and Galle were conceded to him, but none the less in October 1670 he attacked and captured the fort at Arandora, the erection of which he had not forgiven, and carried off the entire garrison as prisoners. The Hollanders blustered, insisted on the release of their men, threatened reprisals, and closed the ports of Batticaloa, Kottiar, and Kalpitiya. The King remained unmoved, but on the death of Hendrik Draak, who, sent as ambassador in 1663, had not been allowed to return, the body accompanied by some Hollanders was sent to Colombo with much ceremony for interment. For years no Hollander had dared to venture on this embassy, but at last a soldier named Henricus van Bystervelt was found willing to undertake the dangerous mission.

Leaving Colombo on 21st February 1671, he was received by the King's officers at Sitavaka and escorted in procession to Hanguranketa, for the King never returned to Senkada Gala after the rebellion. Another plot to poison him had been recently discovered and it was reported that the guilty cooks and other palace servants had been impaled, hanged, or thrown to the elephants. He was therefore in a friendly mood towards the Hollanders, who on their part were prepared to humour him to the utmost. Bystervelt carried the Company's letter within the palace on his head in a golden salver, and greeted the King with the humble prostrations which eastern etiquette exacted from a King's subjects. His reception was most cordial. The King after expressing his warm esteem for the Hollanders, promised to restore the recently captured prisoners and the detained ambassadors. He however complained of the closing of the ports, whereupon Bystervelt repeated the old formula that all that had been done the better to protect his Kingdom, and punish those traitors to the King who were responsible for the recent acts of hostility.

Bystervelt was appointed a Mohottiar and presented with the silver inkstand, hourglass, style and knife usually issued to one. A sword, a chain of gold, rings and other jewels were also given to him, and with

deferential obsequiousness he carried the Sinhalese clothes sent to him, within his quarters on his own head. His food was supplied daily from the royal kitchen, his lodgings were guarded by Udapalata Disava, an officer in high favour with the King whose life he was said to have saved during the rebellion, and he was summoned to numerous audiences; but though months passed no substantial business was done.

Whatever might have been Raja Sinha's own feelings his Council was bitterly hostile and in the ambassador's presence urged a declaration of war on the Company. The King exclaimed that he would never permit that, but a shrewd Dane who had been at Court for twenty-one years, caustically remarked that the Company always employed fine words to the face, but calumny at the back, of people. Bystervelt, who was not a diplomat, was beside himself with rage; he declared that if the detained ambassadors were not sent back, the whole Kingdom would be blockaded; he challenged the Councillors to single combat, and finally insisted on being given permission to depart. He was coldly told that it was granted and after some delay started on his return journey, reaching Colombo on the 29th of October, dressed in the paraphernalia of a Sinhalese official, to receive a warm greeting and the hearty congratulations of the Council.

In the meantime a terrible storm had burst over the United Provinces of Holland, and threatened their very existence. Louis XIV had, by a secret Treaty signed at Dover in May 1670, purchased the services of the licentious Charles II who still disgraced the throne of England, and declared war on the Republic; but the Hollanders, led by the youthful William of Orange, faced the peril with the indomitable courage which had always characterised the race in moments of stress. In 1667 Caron sent to Paris a map of Ceylon, with a scheme for establishing a factory on the Eastern coast, so as to secure a share in the cinnamon trade. Following on this in March 1672 a French fleet commanded by Admiral de La Haye who was accompanied by Caron, appeared off Ceylon, and sailing past Batticaloa and Kottiar cast anchor in the Bay of Trikuna Male. The Hollanders were much disconcerted at this apparition, and their garrison at Kottiar hastily set fire to their fort and retired. The French thereupon occupied two islets, which they named Le Soleil and Caron, as well as the point of Fort Breton, and began to erect fortifications, at which work the Almoner of the fleet, Father Maurice, was found well skilled.

The Sieur Desfontaines was now sent to the Court, where he was so graciously received that he elected not to return. Instead two courtiers arrived with a message of welcome, accompanied by several thousand men, and a vivid description of the incident has been preserved by a French officer who was present on the occasion. The ambassadors appeared at night with much state, dressed in long robes of scarlet and headdresses

studded with gems. They were attended by others in white, while the soldiers wore only the minimum of clothes which decency required, with the red caps so popular in the East. A few of them bore muskets, but the majority were armed with pikes, halberds, and battle axes, or bows and arrows, and all carried a dagger at the waist. A crowd of musicians, making a terrific medley of sound with their drums, fifes, and similar instruments, led the procession, while great flambeaux and waxen lights illuminated the picturesque scene, and revealed the bright colours of many flags with strange devices.

Caron met them at Kottiar, and escorted them on board, where de La Haye received them. A long interview followed, at the end of which they were invited to a repast ; but they would not eat or drink, though they accepted the presents offered to them. Their report to the King was apparently favourable, for shortly after a large number of men appeared to assist the French in the work of fortification, which was now continued with vigour. In the meanwhile the coast was carefully explored, and it is interesting to note that the French discovered a Portuguese devotee of the Order of St. Christopher, who was living in retirement under the King's protection. The writer has recorded the fact that he found the smoking of tobacco in pipes customary among the inhabitants, to while away the tedium of watching their cultivations.

On the 28th of May a Treaty was signed by which Raja Sinha granted to the French the Bays of Trikuna Male and Kottiar, and pillars bearing the Royal Arms of France were set up to mark the limits of the concession. Shortly after Van Goens arrived in the neighbourhood with part of the Company's fleet, and seized two French vessels which had sailed to India for provisions. The position was menacing and some fighting followed. Sickness was raging among the French, more than four hundred of whom were suffering from dysentery and the results of exposure to the intense sun. There was a shortage of fresh provisions, for, though the King sent seven *Vederalas* to attend to the sick, the villagers were unwilling to part with their cattle for slaughter. At length in July the disappointed de La Haye set sail, leaving one vessel and fifty men behind in charge of the forts. The Hollanders promptly attacked the garrison at Fort Breton, and prepared to follow this up by landing on the Islands, when the King's officer in charge of Tamblegam appeared and dispersed a detachment of their forces while on the march. The French however were unable to resist, and a few days later surrendered on terms, being allowed the honours of war ; their military stores and vessels were confiscated for the benefit of the Company, and the King's workmen retained as hostages for the Hollanders in his power. It was specially agreed that this surrender was not to prejudice the rights acquired under the King's grant.

De La Haye had before sailing despatched to the Court a second envoy, the Sieur de La Nerolle, who was considered a highspirited and well conducted person. The choice was not fortunate for de La Nerolle, no doubt contrasting the splendour of the greatest Court in Europe with the squalor of that to which he was accredited, bore himself with a degree of hauteur which was not likely to render the path of negociation less rugged. He travelled on horseback all the way from Kottiar, and on arriving at Hanguranketa insisted on riding past the palace, in spite of the agitated remonstrances of the Sinhalese courtiers, who were horrified at this breach of etiquette. The King however took no notice of this, and granted an interview. De La Nerolle was escorted to the Palace by night with the usual ceremonial, but was so annoyed at the delay in ushering him before the King, that he turned on his heel, and returned to his lodgings, whereupon the King, enraged, ordered him and his suite to be chastised, in order to teach them the conduct which was becoming in dealing with Oriental Kings. The Ambassador was kept in chains for six months, and his suite, nervous as to the consequences of their chief's arrogant temper, begged to be separated from him ; they were taken into the King's service three being placed in charge of his favourite horse, and the rest allowed to settle in the town where they made a living, like so many of the Portuguese who were there, by distilling arrack and opening taverns.

De La Haye never returned ; Caron was sent back by him to Europe, in disgrace, but the vessel which conveyed him was wrecked off Portugal on 5th April 1673, and he was drowned ; while De La Nerolle being pardoned by the King, was appointed a Mohottala and married a Sinhalese lady at Court ; their descendants are well known in various parts of the Island.

The Hollanders were much concerned about these events. They feared that the peace for which they had striven would be broken after all and hurried to strengthen the garrisons of their outposts. There was some fighting in the South, but Raja Sinha remained quiet till 1675, in April of which year Van Goens handed over his office to his son Rykloff van Goens junior, who was born in Batavia. Four months later a Sinhalese army appeared before the Company's fort at Bibilegama, and laid it under siege ; they succeeded in cutting off the garrison from its supply of water, and then collecting a huge pile of faggots which was pushed ever nearer, threatened to burn down the entire fort. Further resistance was out of the question, and ninety Hollanders and four guns were taken in triumph before Raja Sinha. The former were treated with consideration, and several attempts made to persuade their commanding officer to enter the Royal service, while the guns were mounted on richly carved carriages and retained at the palace as trophies of the victory.

In Colombo there was much anxiety, for the Sinhalese were reported to be threatening Ruvanella. Clement Magellian, a Chalia of distinguished courage and unusual ability, who was sent into the Beligal Korale, was deserted by his men during a skirmish and killed, his head being taken as a trophy to the King. This man had been educated by the Portuguese priests, and in 1663 was appointed Maha Vidane over his caste, in succession to Anthony Mendis. He attempted to raise a body of Lascarins among his own people, but fell under suspicion of carrying on a treasonable correspondence with the King and was placed on his trial. There he was honourably acquitted, and in compensation was appointed Mudaliyar over all the Chalia Lascarins, while he won so great a reputation in the hostilities against the King that he was permitted to increase their number to five hundred men ; they however failed him in his hour of need. His death was a great loss to the Company.

Tennekon, now Disava of Sat Korale, was hovering near Kalpitiya with his men. In the South Matara was being menaced from Saparagamuva. Batticaloa was said to be in revolt, and Aripo, which was of such importance for the protection of the Pearl Fishery, was in danger from the restlessness of Kaila Vannia, acting in concert with Tennekon. Hostilities would undo all that Company had so patiently built up during the years of peace, and the garrisons were hurriedly withdrawn from the threatened outposts.

A few years before this a mysterious figure had appeared in Sat Korale declaring that he had a mission to preach the religion of the Nameless God, to destroy the Devala in the country, and to establish this new religion. The King watched with saturnine amusement while he enriched himself with the wealth of the Devala, but when it began to be whispered about that he was the son of his late brother Vijayapala, Prince of Matale, he began to exercise a scrutiny over his actions which was disconcerting to the pretender. The latter therefore fled to Colombo, where he was well received and maintained in state at the Company's expense. There by his shrewdness he acquired, under the name of Ambanvela Rala, a reputation as a wizard which has survived up to the present day. The Hollanders considered the moment opportune to make use of his influence among his countrymen, and sent emissaries into the Sat Korale to distract the King by creating a movement in his favour. At the same time on instructions from Batavia a humble letter was despatched to the King begging him to take back all the districts occupied by the Company since 1665, to release the captured Hollanders, and to admit the Company once more into his friendship.

An ambassador followed in November 1676 with a Cape lion, as a subtle compliment to the King, whose name signified the Kingly Lion. Raja Sinha was not satisfied with the reports brought to him about its appearance

and would not deign to look at it. The ambassador was detained at Molligoda till the lion died, when he was summoned to Hanguranketa with the hide. Months passed without an audience till weary of the long delay he attempted to force his way within the palace. He was arrested by the guards at the entrance, and on the King's orders detained at the spot for three days in order to teach him patience, and then released: he received an audience on 12th March 1680.

The King displayed much sense of humour in his dealings with the Hollanders, and later sent as a return present for the despised lion a truculent elephant of gigantic size which had been used as an executioner, but had got beyond control. To neglect this gift would have been an insult to the King, and the Company was obliged to engage two other elephants to attend on it, and undergo all the expense of its maintenance.

Such pleasantries did not distract him from his determination to make himself as disagreeable as possible. Tennekon was on the borders of the Kalutara district and its population retired within Sinhale while the Company's outposts had to be abandoned. Cinnamon collection was seriously affected; there was no pearl fishery for eight years, and the anxious merchants tried to soothe the King by a present of the two finest Persian horses available. No one however appeared on his behalf to receive them, while there was good reason to fear that a hostile demonstration was being prepared on the boundaries of the Tun Korale. The outposts here were next withdrawn, leaving a garrison at Sitavaka, and shortly after Tennekon appeared in the Siyane Korale, threatening Malvana. He had the reputation of being the most able of the King's Generals, and it was said that the King was jealous of him. At any rate Tennekon entered into a secret correspondence with the Company's officers, and on 30th October 1678 deserted to Colombo with three hundred men. Van Goens was delighted; a ceremonious reception awaited the renegade, a great collar of gold was placed round his neck, and he was given lands for his maintenance till his services could be effectively utilised. The King betrayed no feeling on the subject, and allowed the traitor's property, which became forfeit to the Crown, to rot where it stood.

The following month Ambanvela Rala fled back to the King; he was not considered of much value and was said to have been put to death. The people of the Vanni were still restless and when Don Philip, their most influential chief, died, they appointed a successor without reference to the authorities at Jaffna. Matters appeared so threatening that an armed force was sent to the district, and this was sufficient to overawe the inhabitants.

During these troubled times the German, Paulus Hermann of Halle, a physician in the Company's service and later Professor of Botany at Leyden, laid the foundation of European Botany in Ceylon by forming

the *herbarium* which was afterwards used by Linnaeus. At the same time Grimm, a Swede, was making some study of native medicine and drugs. During the 4th and 5th of November, 1679, one of those cyclonic storms for which Jaffna is notorious, swept over the peninsula ; many vessels were broken to pieces in the neighbouring seas, cattle by the thousand killed in the Islands, roofs were stripped from the houses and Church within the Fort, Hamenheil opposite Kayts was breached and the coast round Parittiturai devastated by the tidal waters.

Towards the end of the year van Goens, then only thirty seven years of age, handed over the administration to Laurens Pyl, the experienced Commandeur of Jafanapatnam, and started for India. In spite of the trouble with the King and the anxieties of the war with Louis XIV, which was ended in July of the previous year by the Treaty of Nimeugen, he had been able to make his term of office a financial success. The arecanut monopoly yielded enough profit to meet the expence of the increased army of 3400 men. Cotton goods, imported by the Company alone, not only yielded direct profits by their sale but formed the medium of exchange for obtaining arecanut. The retail trade in cloth was the perquisite of the burghers. But the demand for red caps, once so heavy, had almost ceased as English prisoners taught the Sinhalese to embroider cotton caps ; indeed, Van Goens complained, the people in the interior now wore nothing but caps of white and brown thread, which had the great advantage of cheapness. Elephants had been plentiful and their sale had attracted both money and rice, in which latter commodity they were frequently paid for. The cinnamon collection had been satisfactory, and the Chalias were allowed by the King to penetrate in search of it into the wilds of Pitigal Korale without any objection.

The labour devoted to increasing the production of rice was well repaid, and Van Goens confidently expressed his opinion that the Ceylon establishment could be maintained from the profits of local products. The Lascarin force, now raised to 5000 men, proved of great service during the recent troubles, and was rewarded with some of the best villages, their lands being largely exempt from the duties to which those of others were liable. The Company realised that so long as it refused to surrender Colombo to the King it could not expect permanent peace, and the policy was to cajole him with presents. In the event of his death, the plan was to occupy Allauwa and Arandora and seize the Low Country, while attacking Chilaw by sea, when much was expected from Tennekon and Punchi Appuhami of Vikeliya, another renegade, who was appointed Disava of Ruhuna and a part of Matara.

When Van Goens set sail for Batavia there went with him Robert Knox, who had escaped after a captivity of nineteen years. The Company sent him back to England, where he prepared an Historical Narrative

of his experiences which make painful reading. The greed and violence of the West had crushed the sweetness out of the life of the East. One consuming passion possessed the King, and that was to punish the obsequious merchants who had cheated him; his subjects were poverty stricken and devoid of the ordinary comforts of life, while their arecanuts rotted under the trees, for he was determined that the Hollanders should not fill their own coffers by trading in them. European accounts have drawn a lurid picture of his last years, representing him as a merciless despot, suspecting everyone of position, putting to death on the slightest provocation, imprisoning for long periods without charge or explanation, and even employing torture, which was quite foreign to Sinhalese institutions. However prejudiced these accountss there can be no doubt that he was arbitrary and with his bitter experience of traitors among his own subjects, trusted noone. But his worst enemies conceded that he rarely acted under the influence of haste or passion, and he sternly suppressed oppression by his officials; Sinhalese legend and song are full of his greatness, in curious contrast to the Dutch version, and their study will some day help to arrive at a just estimate of his character. He was the last important King of the Sinhalese race.

Hanguranketa was now his permanent residence. The extensive palace precincts were enclosed by a stout clay wall and abutted on the hill which was the place of refuge, where no one dared to venture on penalty of death. Within were the numerous thatched buildings of the palace attendants with a few storied houses occupied by the higher officials. The King's residence, entered by elaborately carved gates, had windows overlaid with silver and ebony, and contained intricate passages were were guards, who were not permitted to talk to each other. His attendants were pages of the best families, his kitchen was in charge of women and Kaffirs formed his guard. As a precaution against poison, all food had to be tasted three hours before it was served to the King, whose diet consisted almost exclusively of vegetables. His *Ran Doliya* resided at Senkada Gala with a separate establishment, and the *Yakada Doli* lived in villages close to the palace, where no stranger durst enter.

The diversions which attracted him in his youth still maintained their hold. He loved strange animals, and a black leopard, a white deer and a spotted elephant were in his menagerie. Though he now rarely appeared on horseback, he delighted to watch his horses being exercised. He was fond of elephant sports, and spent much time feeding fish in the lake which he had constructed. He liked architecture, and was always busy with improvements at the palace. He was proud of his armoury and had some beautiful guns of local make, richly inlaid with silver and gold.

In matters of religion he was very tolerant, and though he made little profession of Buddhism, there was at Hanguranketa a College of

Bhikkhus including his own uncle, to supervise its affairs. Temple villages were still numerous enough seriously to affect the royal revenues, for they were exempt from taxation. There was a strong feeling among the people for their religion, and small temples were springing up on all sides; usually mean buildings of clay, in no way comparable with those which had been destroyed. Indian Fakirs were still in charge of *Sri Pada*, and crowds flocked to worship the *Bo* tree among the ruins of Anuradhapura. After the rebellion the King never interfered with the Perahera, though he preferred the *Katti Mangalya*, and he no longer insisted on being addressed as divine. He respected Christianity, but the scandals which grew round the Portuguese Church at Senkada Gala, compelled him to close it. Even the Moors were permitted to have there a mosque, which was supported by a small contribution from the public.

The King still loved a stout fighter ; he was very partial to Europeans and always endeavoured to enlist them in his service. Francois Vandenburg was given a high military command, till he was found guilty of treasonable correspondence, and executed ; Richard Varnham was placed in charge of the artillery and allotted several villages for his maintenance ; one of the Company's ambassadors supervised the *kottal badda* or Artisans Department, while De La Nerolle, as already stated, was a Mohottala. Europeans were employed at the palace, and there was a company of European soldiers commanded by a Portuguese and a Hollander. The European prisoners were fed at the public expence, and their numbers rendered this a serious drain on the resources of the humble villager ; they however found the want of beef a great hardship and the Jesuit Verghonce, who also was a prisoner, encouraged the rest to kill their neighbours' cows. This priest was fond of food, and would often be seen at the Devale, sharing with the tom-tom beaters and weavers the eatables which were offered there. Knox recorded with appreciation that on board Van Goens' vessel " every meal he had ten or twelve dishes of meat with variety of wine."

The Portuguese were allowed many trading privileges and kept taverns where the other Europeans congregated of a Sunday. The weakness of the Hollander was well-known, and the Sinhalese proverb which Knox has preserved says " Wine is as natural to white men as milk to children." It is pleasant to note that in spite of the abject poverty of the people, Knox was still able to say " They have none of their own nation that begg thare, for all releave those of theire owne families."

Pyl continued to treat the King in the manner recommended by Van Goens. Successive embassies were sent, both from Colombo and Batavia, to secure peace and the release of prisoners, but the King would not grant them audience. Lions, tigers, horses, civet cats, falcons, Persian sheep and rare fowls were offered in order to tempt him into good humour,

but none of these had any effect. Peeling cinnamon was allowed till the whim seized the King to drive away the peelers, when an humble apology from Colombo secured a further precarious license. There were rumours that armed forces were again on the frontier, whereupon the outposts were withdrawn, and the forts of Hanvella and Kalutara strengthened. It was whispered about that the fierce old tyrant had taken to opium or to drink. At last in 1684 an ambassador arrived to announce the King's good health, and he was followed by the detained officials with numerous presents, but there was no mention of the return of the prisoners.

The Sinhalese now resumed possession of some of the Korales which the Company had offered to surrender, and the salt Levayas in the South, without any protest. Pyl was most conciliatory and sent a private communication to the King admitting that the Company did wrong in retaining Colombo, that the whole island belonged to the King, and that the Hollanders were there merely to assist him in its defence. He described himself as the King's "faithful and humble Governor," and Colombo as the "King's imperial and invincible castle." The effect was excellent and it was soon noted that the King, whose health was known to be precarious, had softened. This impression was strengthened by the arrival in 1686 of his chief Nayaka Thero on a visit to Pyl. He was received with almost royal honours, and so effective were the Governor's powers of persuasion, that warm hopes were entertained of a speedy settlement of the question of the prisoners. A beautiful jewelled Medal was presented by Pyl to Navaratna of Matara, the inheritor of a great name, who was the Chief Mudaliyar and Basnayaka of Colombo, in appreciation of his share in the negotiations. These expectations were not disappointed, and in May, to the delight of the Hollanders, the King's Adigar, Asvala Rala, appeared with a long train of released prisoners.

In the meantime Hendrik Adriaan Van Rheede, now High Commissioner for the Indies, arrived at Nagapatnam, and Pyl went to meet him, and Raja Sinha, suspicious of his doing so without notice to him, sent Mattamagoda to bring him back. Van Rheede was prepared to make many concessions, and in August Pyl, on his directions, offered the King's ambassadors to restore all territory occupied since 1665; they replied that they had no authority to deal with that question.

Raja Sinha, clear headed to the last, realised that his end was not far off. He summoned a Council of his Ministers at Hanguranketa, and led before them a gentle-faced man whom he introduced as the Prince Mahastana, his son, and heir to the Throne of Lanka. The secret of his existence had been well kept. The Ministers were silent; they were incredulous, but dared not display any sign of hesitation. It is said that

the terrible Autocrat had to prostrate himself at the feet of his son, and swear allegiance to him as King, before the Ministers recognised him.

On the 10th of December two ambassadors arrived at Colombo to announce the Prince's accession and a great demonstration of joy followed, slaves who were in chains being released, and all criminals condemned to death or to be lashed pardoned. Five days later others came with the news of the death and cremation of Raja Sinha; they added that his last instructions to his son were to remain on friendly terms with Pyl, who he believed was not an untrustworthy man like other Hollanders. A memorial celebration followed on the 23rd with all the funeral pomp so dear to the heart of the Teuton. Long lines of Lascarins, companies of soldiers and sailors with arms reversed and trailing pikes, each preceded by a field-piece dragged by slaves, and the Governor's guard in armour, went in front of the trumpets and kettledrums which were on horseback. The great Standard of the King, smaller standards, his personal banner, led horses covered with black velvet, gilt spurs, gauntlets, dagger, helmet, coat of mail, etc., came next. They were succeeded by a coach drawn by six led horses, all hung with the King's device of the Red Lion on a gold ground, the horse of State, herald in armour, the Sword of Sovereignty, the Crown and the Sceptre; these last were carried on cushions by noblemen, guarded by halberdiers, and accompanied by lighted flambeaux. Next came the Governor, his train of six ells in length borne by a page, with the Sinhalese ambassador by his side. The Political Council, the Ministers, the Council of Justice, and other officials followed, with the burghers and domestics bringing up the rear.

The long procession wended its way to the Church, where the insignia remained on a table till evening, when they were removed, under three volleys of musketry and a royal salute from all the guns in the city and the fort, back to the Governor's house with the same marks of distinction. After this demonstration of respect to the memory of the King whose death filled them with relief the weary officers were regaled with spirits and wine, and allowed to return to their homes.

Raja Sinha was cremated at the Avadahana maluva; the dagoba which contained his ashes was rifled in early British times.

CHAPTER III.

On 10th July 1688 the Maha Mohottiar arrived to announce that on the 27th of the previous month the new King had girded on the Sword of State ; he brought with him a gold mounted gun as a present for the Governor, and a long train of Hollanders whom, with their wives and children, the King had been pleased to set at liberty. On the 15th the new King was proclaimed from the balcony of the Council House under the name of Vimala Daham Surya Maha Raja amidst shouts of " Long live the King " and a display of fire-works completed the festivities.

The re-arrangement of Colombo, begun in 1656, was now complete, and the original town, known as the Old City, *Oude stadt*, separated from the Castle. The former in the main occupied the Pettah of today, and was divided into twelve squares ; in the centre was the graveyard, round two sides of which ran the public market, where anything from a slave to a betel leaf could be purchased. On the east and south the town was defended by ramparts and the lake, which teemed with crocodiles ; the only entrance was on the North-east corner, by the Negombo gate, and the adjacent sea shore was used as a fish market. The buildings within the walls were chiefly of Portuguese construction, the residents including several Europeans with their Sinhalese or Mestico wives ; outside there was thick jungle running in the direction of *Wolvendahl*, the Agoa de Lopo of the Portuguese.

The Castle was separated from the Old City by a broad stretch of marshy ground terminating in the moat into which the original outlet of the lake had been converted and was protected on three sides by the lake, the sea, and the bay respectively. A causeway connected it with the Old City ; on the South West ran the road to Galle through the Galle Gate, while the Water Gate led down by twenty steps into the Bay. Within and facing the Bay was the Governor's house, and close to it that reserved for Sinhalese Ambassadors. Most of the officials resided within the walls, though the finest street was, curiously enough, occupied mainly by Tupasses and Sinhalese. The five bastions of the Castle were of cabook, and a canal ran within the fortifications and alongside the eastern rampart. Vessels were obliged to anchor a couple of miles away, in consequence of the sand bar at the entrance to the harbour.

The Company's plans for a hostile demonstration on the frontiers at Raja Sinha's death were left in abeyance, for its officials believed that they could obtain all they desired by diplomatic pressure on his inexperi-

enced successor. They assumed the position that all treaty obligations entered into with the late King, with the offer to restore territory occupied since 1665, were no longer binding; but they soon received a rude awakening. Pyl had declared that all the Island belonged to the Sinhalese King, and one of Vimala Daham Surya's first acts was to send an ambassador with his *Sanhas* granting the port of Veligama to Navaratna, accompanied by a request that it should be delivered to the Basnayaka before the full Council.

The Councillors were in dismay ; they hastened to explain that when they had described the Hollanders as the King's servants they only meant that they were there to render him service. It was impossible to give effect to the *Sanhas*; some evil disposed person they said, must have suggested granting the port in order to annoy the Company ; and they hinted that in fact the King was largely in their debt for their services against the Portuguese. However, after much agitated discussion, they agreed to the *Sanhas* being formally presented, but privately instructed Navaratna to return it to the Political Secretary.

It was quickly discovered that the King did not propose to rule autocratically, as his father had done. He apparently had lived since 1664 in a *Pansala*, and had the good sense to allow himself to be guided by Ministers, including his Maha Nayaka, who understood the Company much better than he did : and he had also the valuable advice of de La Nerolle. The Court's attitude was very simple : the ports of Ceylon must be thrown open, and the Company must surrender all territory occupied since 1665, and from this position the Ministers were not prepared to stir.

The Hollanders, on the advice of van Rheede, tried what would today be described as bluff. Having made up their minds that under no circumstances could the trade of Ceylon be thrown open to their rivals, they insisted that the King must enter into a fresh treaty and the question of the occupied territory must be discussed anew. They accordingly submitted their terms for consideration reserving for themselves the exclusive and unhampered trade with Sinhale with the right to collect cinnamon there subject to the payment of a yearly subsidy ; they also suggested that the occupied territory should either be held by them as security for their claim or be transferred to them absolutely in full satisfaction.

However " His Imperial Majesty," as they insisted on addressing him, was in no hurry ; the terms were carefully considered and were not found acceptable, the Ministers denying that the Company was entitled to make any claim against the Treasury ; he was willing to grant the required permission to gather cinnamon, but as to the rest he desired first

to see the Governor personally. This did not suit the Company, which replied that Pyl could not under standing orders leave the Company's lands, unless a suitable substitute was available to take his place; but from this date began the custom of sending an yearly ambassador with the promised subsidy, to obtain permission for the peelers to enter the Kingdom.

The Hollanders were not feeling comfortable. The people of the Littoral were going in numbers to receive titles and distinctions from the King as Suzerain, and even Navaratna, by too frequent correspondence with the Ministers, came under suspicion. To avoid unpleasantness they deemed it advisable quietly to evacuate the mountain Korales and Tun Korale, which were nearly devoid of inhabitants. These were immediately occupied on behalf of the King.

Religious questions complicated the situation, for the King was devoted to Buddhism, and within the Company's territory there were shrines which commanded the reverence of all Buddhists. Kelaniya had never lost the sanctity which the visit of Gautama Buddha conferred on it, and crowds still assembled from Sinhale to worship at Mulgiri Gala. This latter, a cave Viharaya not many miles to the North East of Matara, dated from the earliest time and fresh glamour was cast round it by the belief of some Europeans that Adam and Eve were buried there.

In 1682 repressive legislation had been passed by Pyl to check heathenism and encourage Christianity, and in consequence there were nearly 25,000 professing Christians in the Colombo Disavani. The clergy however were fain to admit that their religion was very nominal, and that many professed the faith from worldly motives, in order to derive advantages from the Christian Government. What alarmed them above all was the increasing activity of the Buddhists, which manifested itself more and more as the people driven into the mountains by Raja Sinha's order began to return. Acting it is said on a hint from Colombo, the King even sent a demand for the rebuilding of the dagabas in the Littoral, the return of the temporalities which had belonged to the *Viharayas*, and freedom of worship to all Sinhalese.

The Company feared to interfere with Kelaniya, for it would not risk the peace it craved for by incurring the displeasure of the powerful Gane Bandar, or *Maha Nayaka*. The clergy were scandalised, for they had much faith in the efficiency of the civil arm in supporting the Church. What, said they, was the use of repressive legislation elsewhere, when Buddhism was allowed unchecked almost within hearing of Colombo? However, the authorities would not go with them; they would punish

professing Christains who took part in heathen worship, but were not prepared to forbid the exercise of their religion by the heathen. The clergy therefore adopting the policy of the Portuguese converted a *maduva* close to the ruined dagaba at Kelaniya, into a school. This did not reduce the crowds attending the festivals, whereupon they urged that a place of Christain worship should be established there, and in 1692 received permission to do so.

Meanwhile the King demanded that all territory in the Company's possession except the coast forts should be returned to him, and repeated attempts were made by vessels flying his flag to sail out of Puttalam. War seemed inevitable, and the Hollanders, now arguing that their title was founded not on contract with the King, but on conquest from the Portuguese, who had title under the donation of Dharmapala, expressed their determination to maintain their rights by force if required, and while strengthening their outposts kept a careful eye on all the highborn Sinhalese within their jurisdiction.

Meanwhile the annual subsidy continued to be sent though it was not always that this was accepted, for sometimes the presents were left abandoned on the road. No cinnamon could be collected in 1690, but the following year after a long interval a pearl fishery, the first of a profitable series, again contributed to fill the Company's chest. Though Pyl was anxious to return home, yet in deference to the King's wish he remained in office while negociations dragged on ; nothing however came of them and in February 1692 he handed over charge to Thomas Van Rhee, who had already seen much service in the Island.

Obsequiousness and tact enabled the new Governor to administer the occupied districts for five years with much less friction than Pyl had experienced. Peeling was permitted, and the collection was so large that the surplus after providing the yearly fleet with full cargos, was burnt in order to prevent a glut in the market. The Chalias, however, again proved turbulent, and the majority of them fled within the King's dominions, complaining of oppression at the hands of their officers ; their work was most arduous and even when there was no opposition by the King's subjects, the dangers to which they were exposed in the elephant-haunted forests were great.

The King ordered them to go back, but they had to be kept in good humour ; each received a supply of rice, salt and arrack when starting to collect and a small present when he delivered the amount for which he was liable. The distribution of the presents was celebrated by a fantastic dance by men wearing hideous or grotesque masks, a ceremony still popular in the South. They were allowed free passage over

the ferries, exemption from duty for their produce brought into town for sale, and free salt at the Levayas after their Rajakariya was performed.

A severe drought throughout 1694 and 1695 caused much hardship to the inhabitants, and loss of tythes to the Company. But the elephant trade, still conducted on the lines laid down by the Kings, yielded good profits. The elephants captured by the Etbandana Rala in the four *kraals* in the South, were collected at the Stalls at Matara, which were under the Gaja Nayaka, and fed with coconut branches, plantain trees, and grass from the surrounding villages, so long as they were kept on the Company's account. This was a severe tax on the inhabitants, who were greatly rejoiced when a new system was introduced for transporting the animals by sea to Kangesanturai, to be sold at Jaffna along with those captured by nooses and pits in the North. The liability to supply coconut branches was now shared with the Jaffna people ; this combined with the drought, so affected the trees there, that the export of nuts ceased, and as the province could no longer supply the oil needed for the Company's service the deficiency had to be made good from Malabar.

The areca trade from which the Governor drew heavy perquisites was flourishing, but the evils of the system initiated by the Portuguese still continued. Lands without a single tree had to supply a fixed quantity at the nominal figure of four *larin* the *amunam* of 24,000 nuts. The deficiency of any one year was carried forward as a balance due for the next, and in a short time the burden became so intolerable that owners preferred to abandon their lands and flee the country. Besides this supply, the Company pre-empted all areca in the market at nine *larin*, sometimes insisting on 28,000 nuts to the *amunam*, the excess of 4,000, known as *Crescentie* nuts, being the Governor's perquisite. There were also certain *Mutteltu* gardens belonging to the Company, the crop of which was collected for it free of cost.

Jaffna was causing anxiety. The Tombo prepared in 1646 on Dom Philippe Mascarenhas' orders had been so badly handled that only fragments remained : accordingly a new Tombo was commenced in 1675, and its preparation soon created intense irritation. The people complained that the *lacham*, the unit of measurement according to which the land tax was assessed being the sixteenth part of an English acre, was computed as four instead of eight sowing measures ; that lands exempted from the old Tombo were included in the new ; and that a fresh tax was imposed on the few arecanut trees which their barren soil supported.

The Company was also alarmed at the power the Vellalas had acquired as the result of its patronage. Don Philip Changarapillai, the broker of the powerful Indian elephant merchants whose goodwill was of such

importance, was the leader of the caste, and so great was his influence that all positions of authority were disposed of according to his wishes. It is true that he came into collision with Pyl when Commandeur, and the latter gave orders that he and all his relatives should be arrested and sent to Colombo in chains ; Changarapillai however escaped to Nagapatnam, from where he soon returned with more authority than ever. The Company therefore resorted to the favourite device of patronising another caste, the Madappali, to counterbalance and spy on the Vellalas, with the result that the latter made common cause with the Vannias, who in their turn were showing themselves more and more restive under the slight control which the Company exercised over them.

The people of Jaffna were liable to provide a large quantity of palmyra timber at a nominal price, and the Commandeur received certain perquisites from its export. The Tamil proverb says that the tree lasts a thousand years in life and a thousand years in death, and the demand for this durable timber was so great that the valuable female trees which alone yielded fruit and also supplied the most toddy and the best timber, were much reduced in number, thus seriously threatening the main source of the people's food supply.

One of the most attractive qualities of the Tamil man is his passionate attachment to the soil of his country. Geologically but of recent origin, the surface consists of a thin layer of sand resting on a stratum of coral and limestone; the spots which are marked by any degree of natural fertility are few and eagerly sought after, and no cultivation can be satisfactorily raised till a soil has first been artificially created by breaking up the hard substratum with infinite labour.

The pride of the Vellala always has been his skill as a cultivator ; the manner in which he handles his spade differentiates him at once from the hireling. Long before sunrise and long after sunset the best of them may be seen working on their fields, while their wives and daughters, so graceful in the perfect draperies and beautiful jewels which they have the good taste to prefer to imported skirts and hats, help to lead the water drawn from the well to every cultivated patch. The wants of the Tamil man are fewer even than those of the Sinhalese, and all his savings are invested in land, in his limited peninsula ; the result is that the soil of Jaffna has always commanded an exaggerated and ever-increasing price, and by 1695 it had increased fivefold since the expulsion of the Portuguese. But this craving for land had another side. All through the country there had existed at one time village tanks formed by the native Kings. In every direction there had been roads, for Jaffna by its nature always was and always will be the best roaded portion of

Ceylon. Both were neglected by the Portuguese. The tanks were gradually filled up and encroached upon by adjoining villagers, and the more influential and powerful began to claim them as private property. Pyl in 1687 declared that all tanks belonged to the public, but the interests affected, especially those of Changarapillai's family, were too strong for him, and nothing could be done to remedy the unsatisfactory state of things.

With a sure instinct for what was in harmony with his brilliant sky, the Tamil loved to wear cloths of red ; but the Company found that to gratify this taste, the dyers stole the *chaya ver*, or dye root, which was issued to them on its account and in consequence the wearing of red cloth was forbidden. The drought had affected the supply of rice, and as attempts to attract the Bengal Moors who traded in it to Jaffna, were not successful, much hardship was experienced by the people. Over 3,500 slaves were imported to develop cultivation but the local supply never proved equal to the demand. All these matters created unrest which led to open rioting in 1696 ; the position had to be cautiously handled, and Changarapillai's son, for the father was now dead, was mollified by the present of a horse and a state umbrella, as the chief of the highest caste.

Sinhalese persistency at last found its reward, and in 1696 Kalpitiya and Kottiar were thrown open to the Indian traders, the forts at Batticaloa and Trikuṇa Male being converted into petty outposts ; European vessels however were not permitted in the Company's ports except to take in the food and water they needed. The Court was much gratified, and the gratification was increased when the Company agreed to place a vessel at the King's disposal to fetch a Chapter of priests from Arrakan.

At the death of Raja Sinha the Sangha was in such a bad way that it was said there were not to be found in the country five Upasampada Bhikkhus of godly life. From the commencement of his reign Vimala Daham Surya, who had built a new three-storied Maligava for the Tooth Relic, pressed for the Company's help in obtaining the Chapter needed to re-establish the Maha Vihare succession, as his namesake had done at the beginning of the century. At last the arrangements were completed ; two embassies were sent, and the second, consisting of five ambassadors, returned in 1697 with two Maha Theras and thirty four ordinary Bhikkhus and an Upasampadava was solemnly performed at Getambe.

The effect of this reasonable attitude on the Company's part was soon visible, and most cordial relations were maintained till the King's death: peeling was allowed right up to Balane Kanda, the limit of the *Pata Rata* ; deserters, whether Lascarins or Chalias, were sent back to the coast ; and not even the Sinhalese anxiety to attract all the trade possible to

Puttalam and Kottiar was sufficient to mar the prevailing harmony. The question of a fresh treaty was allowed to sink into oblivion, as matters were found to work to everybody's satisfaction without the sanction of any formal document.

The King hated war with an intense hatred, and fortunately for his people, once again after a hundred and fifty years the influence of a peace-loving Sangha was making itself felt in the Councils of his Ministers. Two Adikars, five Maha Disavas and seven Sulu Disavas, were responsible for the administration. There were seven Mohottiars, who were mainly concerned with questions of revenue ; nominally each was responsible for a regiment of 900 Lascarins officered by Muhandirams, but the reaction after the truculent attitude of Raja Sinha was so great, that military concerns were neglected.

The King's guards were armed mainly with pikes, barely a thousand men knew how to use a musket, and there was no one who understood the cannon which had been increased by the guns of a vessel stranded on the Eastern coast. His three hundred tusked elephants, used chiefly for ceremonial purposes, were kept distributed among the temples. Perfect friendliness prevailed on the frontiers, and the Sinhalese could at last thank the Gods for the blessings of peace, and obtain for themselves something more than the barest necessities of life.

The King was quite content ; he addressed the Governor as a member of his Court or *Dugganna Rala*, and Gerrit de Heere, who succeeded van Rhee in 1697, continued to subscribe himself from " His Majesty's Castle of Colombo." When this Governor died the King sent directions to protect the Company's interets and to guard all the stations till the arrival of a successor.

" The Honourable and Most Esteemed Lords" the Seventeen Directors who managed the Company's affairs from Europe, had disapproved of Pyl's excessively servile attitude and directed that terms of address unbecoming to Christians should not be employed towards the King, who still described himself as divine ; every respect, however, was to be paid to him. This last instruction was interpreted in a generous spirit; for instance a ram, sent as a present to him, was escorted for four miles from Jaffna by the Disava and other officials, with companies of soldiers and Lascarins, under a salute of three volleys of musketry and thirteen guns from the Castle.

After fifty years the Company had to admit that the question of the Administration of Justice, the importance of which it fully recognised, had not been satisfactorily answered. This was especially the case in

the North, where litigation was a favourite diversion among a people whose intellect, if not broad, was peculiarly keen and subtle, and whose character was marked by a persistency not easily discouraged. Cases heard in Portuguese times would be re-opened, and the appearance of a new Commandeur served as an excuse for bringing up his predecessor's decisions in review. The negligence with which legal records had been treated, aggravated this unfortunate tendency. The Custom of the country, which governed the rights of litigants, was obscure and often unintelligible to the officers entrusted with the duty of enforcing it. These men were usually well-intentioned and were probably honest, but the Company's servants were poor lawyers, and some form of codification was urgently required. The condition of the Raad Van Justitie at Colombo, the highest Court of Appeal in the Island, was little better, and the Statutes of Batavia and local Placaats, according to which Justice had to be administered, were not familiar to its members. The irregularities of Proctors in matters of procedure were a cause of complaint even at this time, while most of the Courts were not provided with the necessary law-books.

It was probably in view of these admitted deficiencies that Cornelis Joan Simons, once Vice-President of the High Court at Batavia who had received a legal training at one of the Universities of the Netherlands, was appointed Governor. Under his orders a register was prepared of the Regulations issued from the Netherlands as well as from Batavia, and a convenient summary of the Placaats drawn up, which the Fiscal was instructed to cause to be read out in public once a year. Moreover, in 1704, the Seventy Six Rules and Orders prevailing in Jaffna, were collected together and formally declared to be operative.

At the same time Claas Isaaksz, Disava of Jaffna, who had thirty-five years experience in Ceylon, was directed by Simons to codify the Custom of the country, a work which occupied him for nearly three years. This after being revised by twelve Tamil Mudaliyars, all high-born men with the Portuguese title of Dom, was by an order of 4th June 1707 adopted as an authoritative statement of the *Thesa Valamai*. The Collection, with its quaint reminiscences of ancient matriarchal rights and joint family property, its traces of a lofty code of morality where woman was entitled to the first consideration, and it was a point of honour for the son to take on himself the unsecured debts of his deceased father, is full of interest to the student of social customs, and is still observed as the law in matters of inheritance, mortgage, etc.

The peaceful and unexciting reign of Vimala Daham Surya, which had proved such a blessing to the Island, did not last much longer. To

the end he maintained the friendliest relations with the Company, and even wrote to acknowledge the care with which they guarded the shores of Ceylon. Presents of curios from Nuremburg, tea from China, and horses from Persia, served to keep him amused, while his ambassadors were gratified by four-in-hands which were kept for their use when visiting Colombo, as their residence had been shifted from the Castle to Wolvendahl. The Company's vessels were always at his disposal to convey his messengers to India ; thus in 1706 an embassy was sent to fetch a Princess from Madura as a bride for his son, whose mother came from that country. In May of the next year he went on a pilgrimage to worship the Sri Pada on Samanala Kanda, offering at the shrine a parasol of silver ; and, having thus acquired Merit, he peacefully passed away on the fourth of the following month, genuinely lamented by everyone.

CHAPTER IV.

The new King, who assumed the *Ran Kaduwa*, the Sword of State, the following year under the name of Sri Vira Narendra Sinha, was a boy of seventeen years, of whom little was known except that he was said to have a violent temper. The Nayaker of Madura also was an inexperienced minor, while the Thevar was a debauched old dotard. Hendrik Becker succeeded Simons at Colombo, and the opportunity was considered favourable for carrying out the instructions received from the Netherlands five years before, once more to close the ports against the India trade. This was done, and at the same time permission was obtained from the Thevar to place a garrison at Paumben, to prevent European vessels from sailing coastwise by that passage.

Violent opposition was expected from the Court, for the Sinhalese had been reaping much advantage from the trade which had been opened to them; but to everyone's surprise little notice was taken of this new measure. Harmonious relations continued, and Becker was able during his nine years' administration to devote himself to re-organising the Company's affairs without interruption. His previous service in the country had given him a through knowledge of the evils which called for reform, and he was determined not to rely on the information of lazy, prejudiced, or dishonest subordinates, but to inquire into every matter personally, and, as he said, "lift the veil from the subtle mysteries presented before the eyes of rulers by dishonest servants."

Matters were in a serious condition, for the canker which had done so much to destroy Portuguese rule had set in among the Company's officers, who showed themselves too weak to resist the many temptations for the illicit acquisition of wealth. Once again arecanut proved the sorest trial, and the officials were found busily employed trading in it in competition with the Company. The best in the market was bought in for them; forestallers waylaid the men from Sinhale who brought it and forced them to sell it at low figures, or harassed them from place to place; vessels calling for cargo were supplied with their goods while the Company's property rotted in the godowns and had to be burnt. An extensive system of smuggling was being carried on along the coast. The cloth trade, a monopoly from which the Company expected so much, was ruined by the Small Company which the officials formed to carry

on a rival business. All these malpractices had to be put down with a severe hand.

There were serious scandals in the administration of the Colombo Disavani, while the rice cultivation at Matara proved another fertile source of dishonesty. Little of the grain to which the Company was entitled, reached its stores ; its best lands were cultivated for the benefit of private parties and not of the Company, while the powerful Mudaliyars had obtained for themselves vast tracts as *Badavedili*, and lands were being occupied on all sides without any title or payment of rent. A Hollander, appointed Master of the Sowing, was perhaps the greatest knave of all, and he was also found to be interfering with the Elephant Department, which was in charge of Don Simon Vijayavardhana Mudaliyar, a Sinhalese of high character and acknowledged ability.

Becker did not hesitate. The Hollander was dismissed from office, Vijayavardhana was placed in charge of both departments, and the Disava informed that his own pompous visits to the Hunt could in future be dispensed with. Before long Vijayavardhana proved to the Company the value of those ancient centres of rice cultivation, the Girivayas and the Batgan, by producing enough rice to meet the needs of all the establishments in the South, while the revenue from the sale of elephants rapidly increased.

The salt brought in ballast by the dhonies coming to purchase areca, supplied the whole seaboard except Jaffna ; and this trade was taken over by the Company. The collection of cinnamon was improved, the Chalias being treated with much indulgence. Not only were strict rules passed to prevent the destruction of cinnamon when clearing forest, but the active co-operation of the King was secured, and he issued similar orders regarding the wild cinnamon in his Kingdom, threatening with death anyone who damaged a plant.

In the North the population had increased and new lands been opened up on all sides ; a fresh Tombo was therefore begun so as to include these latter for taxation, and orders were given to sell off those for which no good title could be proved ; needless to say, this was opposed by the entire landed interest. Horse breeding at Neduntivo was made to yield a profit. Dyeing of cloth for exportation to Europe and Batavia was going on satisfactorily. All unnecessary expenditure was cut down, and an Audit set up properly to check accounts. The elephants were, with the King's permission, taken overland to Jaffna, whither purchasers were attracted from India by abolishing the system of brokers, and preventing the petty extortions which used to be practised on the strangers. It should be remembered that no purchasers could be found in the Island

itself, where an elephant would have been of no use to a private owner. The advantage of being courteous to the men whose money was desired was not forgotten, and, at the close of the sale the merchants were served with betel and arecanut, sprinkled with rosewater, and presented with spices.

In spite of the failure of the pearl Fishery, for none was held during Becker's administration, the result of his energy was, that never before and probably never after, were the Company's profits from the Island so uniformly abundant. The only source of annoyance was the steady influx of the Moors, who, in spite of all restrictions, continued to make their way and obtain lands for themselves.

Narendra Sinha was not popular among his subjects, and a plot was set on foot to assassinate him and to place on the throne a certain Pattiye Bandara, said to be a member of the Royal Family. The leader of the conspiracy was Kirivavule Rala, with whom were associated seven others of high family from different parts of the Kingdom. Rammalaka Rala however received information of what was on foot and warned the King in time, so that when the conspirators burst into his bedroom and plunged their swords into a figure which lay under the sheets, they found they were attacking the trunk of a plantain tree.

The King had slipped out by Udavatu Kele, and escaped across the river to Udugoda Devalaya. There it is said the *Yakdessa* whom he consulted, prohesied that in seven days success would attend him, whereupon he vowed an offering to the divinity who presided over the shrine, and went and concealed himself in the cave at Poddalgoda in Udasiya Pattuva. In the meantime the conspirators were searching all the places of refuge till learning where the King was, the eight ringleaders and a hundred and twenty others made their way to the village. The inhabitants however were true to the King, and by a stratagem arrested the conspirators, and produced them bound before him. They were all sentenced to death, Pattiye Bandara being hung up at Talavinna, and shot with arrows by Veddahs. The King did not forget his vow, and the Devalaya is said to have been rebuilt by him, while Rammalaka was loaded with favours.

Fortunately for the Company, his relations with it were so cordial that not even the mad behaviour of de Bevere, sent as Ambassador in 1714, served to break the harmony. This person, a Captain in the army, was received with the utmost graciousness, but was aggrieved at the presents made to him, and behaved with a degree of rudeness which, in Raja Sinha's time would have involved immediate chastisement, if not death. He would not taste the repast served to him after his interview

with the King, and asked that it should be given to his slaves. Instead of removing the presents with all reverence, he tied them in a bundle at the foot of the palanquin he was permitted to use, abused the courtiers sent to escort him, threatened to chastise one of the minor headmen, and outrageously insulted a Bhikkhu whose person was regarded with much respect. The official at Colombo were in dismay when these incidents were reported by Gunaratna Mudaliyar, the Interpreter ; De Bevere was placed under arrest immediately on his return, and an humble apology was conveyed to the Court, which took no further notice of the discourtesy.

Indeed, so complacent was the King's attitude that when in the following year two Vannias sent to ask for his protection and assistance against the Company, he had the messengers arrested and forwarded with their letter to Colombo. A small display of force was sufficient to quell the threatened disaffection, and the property of the two Vannias was confiscated. As extensive smuggling was being carried on from the Vanni a small fort was erected at Mullaitivu to keep this in check. The following year a special embassy conveyed Becker's appointment as Privy Councillor to the King, in appreciation of his services, and shortly afterwards Isaac Augustin Rumpf, another member of the local Service, succeeded him as Governor.

There were however signs that the King was dissatisfied with the restrictions imposed on the trade of his subjects, and the *Kadavatu* leading to the Company's territory were kept closed. The villagers were not prevented from bringing provisions for sale, but the supply of areca was stopped. A demand was received for free trade at Puttalam, and a definite answer was returned that in view of instructions from the Netherlands this could not be permitted. The natural result followed, for the bold Moors of Kilakarai, who were chiefly affected, were not prepared to acquiesce in the Company's arrangements and landed on the coast to the north of Kudiramalai.

This was a spot held in reverence by mariners because of the tomb of a Saint which was there, and had been known to the Greeks as Hippouros, which is a translation of the native name. As it was a convenient centre from which to maintain communications with the Kingdom, the Company was obliged to strengthen the guards along the western coast and keep a sloop cruising near Aripo. An attempt made on the King's behalf to fish for pearls off Chilaw was forcibly stopped, but the appearance in the neighbourhood of some chiefs with a large retinue necessitated a further military demonstration there. Nevertheless in 1721 Rumpf had

the satisfaction of announcing the highest revenue collected by the Company for the hundred years following the capture of Galle in 1640.

For the first time in the century a pearl fishery was held in the following year, and this was repeated for the next four years; but no cinnamon was collected in 1723, because of another revolt among the Chalias, who complaining of the excessive burdens laid on them, refused to proceed to the woods, and applied to the King for protection. The Court was not prepared to support them and Rumpf was able to force them to submit, punishing them by depriving them of some of their privileges. Rumpf died this year, and little of interest occurred till Petrus Vuyst undertook the administration in September 1726.

This young man of thirty years was a native of Batavia, being the son of a European father. His reputation for talents and learning was marred by a vanity so excessive, that on taking over office he covered up his left eye with black plaster, as much as to signify that one eye would suffice for the supervision of the Company's affairs. The King's anxiety to maintain peace left Vuyst unhampered to attend to internal affairs, but so ill did he use his opportunity that he soon aroused the hearty dislike of both the civil and military authorities. There were complaints that the soldiers were responsible for an outbreak of robbery which was causing much trouble, and as a precautionary measure he took the stringent step of directing the roll-call to be held every two hours at night. The unfortunate soldiers, thus prevented from obtaining a reasonable amount of sleep, expostulated and the failure to obtain any relief led to a display of insubordination by a few of them. Severe punishment followed, every tenth man among them being flogged and sentenced to be sent on board ship as a sailor.

Seized with the fear of a general conspiracy he proclaimed martial law and appointed an extraordinary Tribunal with himself as President. This set itself to unravel the suspected conspiracy, the President being aided in his efforts by Assessors selected from among the blacksmiths, carpenters, and uneducated officers who had risen from the ranks, while the functions of the Court of Justice were suspended. Evidence was secured by the unsparing use of the rattan, sometimes exercised by the President himself. Ingenious tortures were also brought into requisition; burning matches were tied between the fingers of witnesses who were considered obdurate; finger nails of others were pulled out, and boiling wax poured on the wounds; while still others had spirits of wine rubbed on their lacerated limbs. There were cases where individuals were compelled to undergo these horrors as many as nine times before their evidence was considered satisfactory. Domiciliary visits were made

on the houses of suspected parties, and as a result nineteen persons were sentenced to death. One of the alleged ringleaders was an old man of over seventy years, who was broken on the rack. In the case of another, his heart was first taken out and dashed against his face, after which his head was out off with an axe, while his body was quartered and the limbs exposed on stakes. Finally the houses of all the condemned men were razed to the ground.

Hearing of these terrible proceedings, the authorities at Batavia hurriedly sent Stephanus Versluys to replace the madman, who was removed in chains to stand his trial, reaching Batavia on 24th February 1730. The legal proceedings dragged on for over two years, and ended in his being found guilty of the crimes of *lese majeste*, of putting nineteen persons to death under the mask of justice, and of gross cruelty to those suspected of conspiracy. The sentence passed was that he should be taken to the place of execution, there tied to a chair and his throat cut with a knife, his body quartered and burnt under the gallows, and the ashes cast into the sea, and all his property confiscated. The sentence was duly carried out on the 31st of January 1732.

Versluys had brought a special Commission to restore order and render justice to Vuyst's victims, but unfortunately he failed to satisfy either the authorities or the inhabitants, and was soon entangled in quarrels with the local officials. A flood which swept over Jaffna in 1726 was followed by famine and desease, as in the time of de Oliveira a hundred years before, and there was much suffering among the people aggravated by the high price of rice. Versluys was soon recalled, and directed to hand over the government to Diederik Van Domburg, the Commandeur of Galle, but instead he entrusted it to the Commandeur of Jaffnapatnam, and Van Domburg found the Castle of Clombo closed against him. He appealed to Batavia, and in December 1732 Jacob Christiaan Pielat arrived as Commissioner to restore order.

Fortunately relations with the Court continued friendly, though Rammalaka and Hulangomuva, the two Adikars, were complaining of the closing of the ports. The King was kept in good humour by presents of the same nature as were sent to his grandfather ; a carriage and four, camels, and other curious animals from all parts were much appreciated, but not more than the wigs which were sent for his personal use as he had aged prematurely. A heavy loss befell him when in 1731 the stores at Hanguranketa with the treasure of gold and silver kept there were destroyed by fire. He usually resided at Kundasala, where he established a charming suburb by the river bank, and at the Capital he replaced his father's Maligava by a handsome two storied building.

But the dissatisfaction over the closing of the ports was serious, and though the King's own arecanuts were purchased at a higher price than others the *Kadavatu* remained closed ; and when Pielat urged the ambassadors who visited Colombo in January 1734, to have them opened, Dondanvala Rala, Disava of Saparagamuva, who headed the mission, replied that this could not be done till the trade of Puttalam was free.

Dissatisfaction spread to the Company's subjects, and even in the neighbourhood of Colombo there were riots, the populace declaring for the King. The unrest was particularly marked in the important Siyane Korale, where military action was found necessary, and many fled to Sinhale where they received lands and were allowed to settle down, while those who returned were at the King's request left unpunished.

The reform of abuses kept Pielat busy. A good many of the officials were incompetent, several were dishonest, and the majority hated each other and were glad of an opportunity to ruin their rivals. Several were after inquiry removed from office; while a scrutiny of the accounts of the Court of Justice and of the Orphan Board led to their Secretaries being put on their trial for embezzlement, the Secretary of the former avoiding punishment by killing himself in jail.

Judicial proceedings were characterised by serious irregularities, delay and negligence. Criminal inquiries were conducted by the Fiscal, who submitted his record and finding to the Court, which then gave its decision. The Fiscal himself was not a lawyer, and advocates were not allowed to appear before him. The system of penal law which was in accordance with the practice in Europe, was appallingly severe. For instance in 1669 an unfortunate Chetty, convicted of what today is regarded as merely a social offence, was sentenced to be hanged, his corpse to be put into a sack and cast into the sea ; but this sentence was commuted, and instead, he was flogged under the gallows, branded, and banished for life. In 1751 a woman named Joana, found guilty of slave stealing, was strangled by being tied to a pole, her head was then severed from her body, which was dragged to the public place of execution, stretched on the wheel, and left there to be devoured by the fowls of the air.

Breaking on the wheel was not customary, and instead it was usual to crush the thigh-bones of criminals with an iron club. Generally the death sentence was executed by the gallows and not by the sword ; and as an accused person could not be sentenced to death till he confessed his guilt, the man whose offence was considered proved was tortured till a confession was wrung from him.

The Fiscal, who was responsible for the public jail, was found to be arbitrarily imprisoning people at the Lascarian guard-house, fining them, and even flogging them to enforce payment. Subordinate officials were signing orders for supplies from the Company's stores, an authority vested in the Governor alone, and the natural result was grave abuse. There was discontent among the natives of the Colombo Disavani, and it was not all without reason. Tact and patience were needed to restore order, and Pielat found that there was much for him to do. He left early in 1734 and Van Domburg took charge when the smouldering unrest broke out in a violent conflagration.

The trouble began with a strike among the peelers sent within Sat Korale who refused to work unless their complaints against their officers were inquired into, and the exactions practised on them abolished, especially the extra cinnamon they had to collect for their Durayas under the name of *Duraroba*, and the *Huvandiram*. The peelers in the Tun Korale struck in sympathy with them. The Company while appealing to the King to bring his authority to bear on the men tried to appease them by removing the Cinnamon Captain from office ; the infection however spread to the Galle and Matara districts, and no collection was possible.

But others besides the peelers had their grievances. The regulations for protecting wild cinnamon interfered seriously with the *chena* cultivation on which villagers largely depended for food ; the fines imposed for non-attendance at School had become a source of oppression ; a half of their lands for which no documentary title could be produced was claimed for the Company, and the owners compelled to purchase them at an appraised value ; and though all coconut trees were liable to the *pol-aya* of a tenth, a further exaction called the *vatu badda* had been introduced. Many hardworking villagers were thus converted into vagrants, while the forcible seizure of cattle to supply food to the officials, aroused passionate resentment among people who could not be bribed by money payment to part with them for slaughter. In a short time the entire country to the North of the Bentara river was in a riotous condition, the Company's coffee garden at Peliyagoda was destroyed, the arrack in its stores emptied on the ground and the Lascarins in charge removed as prisoners. A detachment of soldiers was sent in pursuit, and near Malvana shot down several rioters who tried to resist with clubs and knives.

The Council, however, decided that it was necessary to concede nearly all the demands of the rebels, and the *Duraroba*, *Huvandiram*, and *Vatu badda* were abolished ; but though the bulk of the people returned to their homes, conditions in the Siyane, Hevagam and Salpiti

Korales, which declared themselves under the King's protection, were so serious, that an urgent application for three hundred Malay troops was despatched to Batavia. An appeal was also made to the King; but he was not sympathetic, and replied that from his inquiries he had ascertained that the trouble was due entirely to the misrule of the Company's officers.

In the meantime the rebellion, for such it had become, spread into the Galle and Matara districts, and the gravity of the situation was daily increasing. A force was sent to Attanagalla to over-awe the Siyane Korale, but the rebels, now openly supported by Levuke Rala, the masterful Disava of the Tun and Satara Korales, attacked them with such effect that they abandoned their two pieces of cannon and fled precipitately to Malvana. The rebels followed in hot pursuit and they retired to Colombo, chased by the excited Sinhalese as far as Peliyagoda, three miles from the Castle of Colombo, and the Council could think of no better course to adopt than to send an embassy with presents to appease the King. In the midst of all this turmoil Van Domburg, who should never have left his desk at Galle, died in 1736 ; his successor, Gustaaf Willem Baron Van Imhoff, arrived in July, and in the interval the Council did what it could to control the situation, at the same time anxiously demanding military assistance from Batavia.

Van Imhoff took matters firmly in hand. The peelers were pacified; Navaratna Mudaliyar, son of the Basnayaka, was banished to Tutucorin ; and a disavowal of any sympathy with the rebels was obtained from the King. It is true that the ringleaders found an asylum within his dominions, but an embassy sent to him in 1738 with valuable presents, was well received. The King however was in poor health, and a Doctor was despatched from Colombo to attend on him ; but early in the following year Narendra Sinha, or Kundasala, as he was known among his subjects, died.

CHAPTER V.

With Narendra Sinha's death the Sinhalese Dynasty came to an end. Following the custom started by Vijayo he had obtained his Consort, Udumale Devi, from Madura ; she was the daughter of Pitti Nayaker, described as being of the Vadegai caste, and the King had subsequently married her two sisters as well. None of them had borne him an heir, and therefore at his death he nominated their brother, known as Hanguranketa from his usual place of residence, to succeed him on the Throne. But this was not acceptable to all ; for he left by his *Yakada Doliya*, a Goigama lady, a son named Unambuva Bandara, who had at Court a strong following which pressed his claim to the succession. On the other hand there was jealousy among others who feared that the accession of Unambuva would place too much authority in the hands of his relatives. Matters remained in a state of suspense for nearly a year, and then Narendra Sinha's wishes prevailed and his brother-in-law assumed the Sword under the name of Sri Vijaya Raja Sinha. Unambuva, it is pleasant to record, continued unmolested at Court.

The administration of Van Imhoff and his three immediate successors ended with the promotion of the last of them, Julius Valentyn Stein Van Gollenesse, to be Director General at Batavia, whither he started in March 1751. Van Imhoff himself was distinguished by greater breadth of view and liberality of mind, than was usual among the Company's chief representatives in Ceylon. He fully realised the value of the Island, and also that ignorance and selfishness had brought the Company into serious danger ; to exploit the advantages which the country afforded, the exclusion of possible rivals was necessary, but even more necessary was harmonious co-operation with the Court. The authorities at Batavia were not prepared to face the problem, and much against his wish, he was obliged to have recourse to his predecessors' tactics and pacify the Court with presents.

The Sinhalese were not likely to acquiesce in the existing arrangements much longer. The King received for his cinnamon only an annual subsidy of a few thousand rix-dollars, while his subjects obtained for their arecanuts a price which barely covered the cost of transport. On the other hand if Sinhale were developed and produced what the Company wished to purchase, both sides would benefit, and the Sinhalese would soon recognise that the advantage of the one was the advantage of the

other, and that peace was to the advantage of both. On every occasion he urged this point of view on the courtiers suggesting that this would be of more practical benefit to the King than the opening of Puttalam which they were pressing for, and which the Company was determined to refuse. They were now demanding the restoration of Trikuna Male as well, and Van Imhoff was resolved to resist this, even by force if required. He however recognised with serious concern that all Sinhalese looked up to the King as Lord Paramount, and that it was easy for him to stir up trouble in the Company's territories whenever it suited his purpose.

In Madura the last of the Nayakers died in 1732, and for many years it was the prey of rival factions and foreign invasions, till in 1743 it was occupied on account of the Great Mogul and entrusted to the Nawab of Arcot, who, supported by the English, took up his residence at Trichinopoly.

Shortly after his accession the King married, " for the prosperity and improvement of the world"* a lady from Madura, the daughter of Narenappa Nayaker, a Polygar or nobleman of that country, who with several members of his family accompanied the new Queen to Court. There Levuke Rala, who belonged to one of the leading *Pata Rata* families of Satara Korale, was the most influential Minister, while Mampitiya Rala, in charge of Saparagamuva, exercised an influence which was almost as great.

The succession of a Dravidian dynasty did not lessen the people's interest in their religion, which had suffered under Narendra Sinha, who was indifferent on the subject. The old scandals had revived, and with wordly prosperity the Sangha had become worldly. There were complaints that Bhikkhus vowed to poverty, tried to rival the chiefs of the country in their manner of living ; and that the professed mendicants who should beg for their food from door to door, were ashamed to be seen with their bowl. The King sympathised with the popular feeling, and was warmly supported by his Queen, while a figure which, in the depressing mediocrity of Sinhalese life in the eighteenth century might be considered almost as great, was available as leader. This was Saranankara, who, born in 1698 at Velivita in Tumpane, was robed as a *Samanera* at the age of sixteen years. In a short time his religious fervour and austere life was the talk of the country and as he lived on alms he was known as *Pinda patika*. His eloquence and charm as a preacher drew crowds to hear him expound the *Dharma* ; and after he took up his residence at Malvatte Viharaya he became a recognised force in the religious world.

* Eheylepola Sanhas, Lawrie, p. 200.

Besides his reputation as a Bhikkhu, he was the foremost scholar in Sinhale. Kanda Uda Rata had contributed little to the reputation of Lanka for learning, and during the early period of the Company's influence the whole country was nearly as barren of literary fruit as it had been in the Era of the Portuguese. Kirimetiyave Mantri's *Maha Hatane*, a fine panegyric of Raja Sinha, was the only writing of merit in the latter half of the seventeenth century, while a prose work in Sinhalese, the *Sara Sangrahaya*, appeared in 1708. Narendra Sinha's Court produced some highflown, Sanskritic, and often erotic poems in his honour, but Kundasala's chief claim to remembrance arises from the fact that he had the judgment to patronise the one man competent to save for his kingdom such fragments of learning as still existed. Saranankara was entrusted by him with the preparation of several works on religious topics, as well as the translation of a Pali medical work, the *Bhesajja Manjusa*, and round him there gathered a group of earnest scholars and devout men, who were destined to leave their mark on the history of their country.

Religious deeds were in fashion; individuals planted *bo* trees, repaired Viharayas and dedicated lands for their maintenance, which were entrusted to caretakers, who enjoyed their produce subject to the duty of serving the sacred place. Public feeling was the chief protection against neglect and dishonesty on their part and the King's officers were expected to deal with any breach of trust, while the village elders would meet and elect a new guardian.

When a new Viharaya was built, the most expensive item consisted of the images and wall painting, both the work of members of the Smith caste. They would be fed and clothed while at their task, and after the dedication were generously rewarded, usually in kind, their remuneration often including lands and clothes, household fittings and jewels, farm implements and cattle. A *Pin vattoru* or report setting out the details of the work was then prepared and submitted to the King, who was invited to share in the Merit: he frequently expressed his gratification by a substantial addition to the endowments.

With the liberality of mind which characterised Buddhism, Roman Catholic priests had been permitted to enter the Kingdom freely, and to minister to the Portuguese settled there. In 1682 the Congregacao of the Oratory of St. Filippe Neri was started by some Indian Christians at Goa, and was joined shortly after by Joseph Vaz, an Indian native of Salsete. About 1690 he entered Jaffna as a missionary, and made his way from there within Sinhale. From this centre he organised a Roman Catholic campaign which gave much trouble to the Company, for he was a man of singular decision, energy, and resource,

and appeared to be ubiquitous. A Church was built at Bogambara, and a few priests collected there to assist him

Among them was another native of Salsete, Pedro Ferrao, who had a reputation for sancity, which by a curious survival of mediaeval beliefs was intensified by his peculiarly verminous condition, and the fact that he very seldom changed his clothes; indeed, he claimed to have once had a personal conflict with the Evil One himself. The success of these men now began to attract the attention of the Ministers, for it was reported that their activities were directed towards destroying the religion of the country, and that money was largely employed to secure so-called converts among the poorer classes. The result was that the King ordered their expulsion and the destruction of their places of worship, but these orders do not appear to have been strictly enforced.

The main anxiety was to restore the Buddhist Upasampadava, and the Company, with its policy of humouring the Court, undertook to convey an embassy to Pegu to secure a fresh Chapter from there. The Mission started in 1741, but all the members except Doranegama Rala perished when the vessel was wrecked off the Pegu coast.

This complacency however did not go far to assist the Company, for Van Imhoff's successors had not the ability successsfully to carry out his policy. Complacency on the one side was met by increasing arrogance on the other. The Dravidians from India fully understood the importance of unhampered trade, and under their influence the Ministers insisted on the removal of all restrictions. Leave to peel cinnamon was refused, raids were made within the Colombo Disavani, the work which the Company had commenced at Attanagalla was forcibly stopped, and the building of a Church in Hapitigam Korale forbidden. The Company meekly submitted to all this, with the inevitable result; and a large part of Siyane Korale was occupied on the King's account. An extensive system of smuggling was organised in co-operation with the Coast Moormen, who boldly conveyed the produce of Sinhale in their boats from the creeks and backwaters between Negombo and Puttalam. An urgent remonstrance was met by the contemptuous reply that as the smuggling was very profitable to the King, unless the port of Puttalam was opened the Company might find its loss even greater. Armed vessels therefore were kept patrolling up and down, but the Moormen were the more experienced in these difficult waters, and little could be achieved in checking their enterprise.

Narenappa Nayaker now appeared on the scene and attempted to take his own vessel by force past Kalpitiya. The refusal to allow this exasperated the haughty Indian, and he vowed that the Company would

find nim a veritable firebrand. He was as good as his word ; he arrested the Company's officers in the neighbourhood, detained the Gajanayaka who was taking its elephants to Jaffna, stopped the despatch of provisions to Jaffnapatnam, and drove away the Lascarins who were on guard. Things looked very threatening, for a protest addressed to the Court secured no redress ; soldiers were accordingly sent by sea to watch the Nayaker, when the Queen's death recalled him to the Capital.

But the troubles did not end, for the Chalias went on strike again and refused to peel. It was well known that this was at the Court's instigation and an appeal was made to Levuke, who with Mampitiya and the Udagampahe Adikar, Samanakkodi, headed a faction opposed to Ahalepola, the Pallegampahe Adikar. Levuke was considered to be favourably inclined towards the Company, which did not fail to make it worth his while to continue friendly. None the less incursions were made into the Siyane Korale, the King's Vanniyas plundered the Company's lands at Musali, there was a fresh strike among the peelers, and the messengers sent to talk them over were soundly flogged ; while in the East the watch houses which the Company maintained near Trikuna Male were burnt to the ground.

Nevertheless in 1747 the obsequious Company once again won back favour by placing a vessel at the disposal of another religious mission which was despatched to Siam by way of Batavia, whereupon numerous presents were sent to the Governor by the King, who in the same year married a second time. An Ambassador went to convey the Company's good wishes on the occasion and was received with much kindness, but in the month of August, while he was still at Court, the King fell ill and died.

When Narenappa Nayaker accompanied his daughter to Court, he brought with him his two sons, the elder of whom now about sixteen years of age was nominated by the late King, who had no children, as his successor, and the Ministers accepted the recommendation. The administration remained in their hands till 1751, when the new King, whose physical beauty was a source of delight to his subjects, assumed the Sword with the name of Kirti Sri Raja Sinha.

Levuke continued in power, and friendly relations were maintained with the Company, which was anxiously watching events in India. In 1744 war had been declared between France and England, and two years later the fleets of both nations were seen in the Bay of Trikuna Male. Madras was captured by the French, but in 1747 the Netherlands joined the European Coalition against France, and a British fleet under Admiral Boscawen, grandson of the Duke of Marlborough, was placed on the Indian

waters. The late King had been negotiating with the French, who proposed to drive the Hollanders out of the Island. Boscawen now opened a confidential correspondence, couched in the most flattering terms, with the Governor, and attempted to persuade him to assist the English Company; but the Hollander was too shrewd to allow himself to be drawn into the fight. The peace of Aix la Chapelle, signed on 18th October 1748, terminated the European war, and Madras was given back to the British Company.

In 1749 the King married the daughter of Nadukattu Sami Nayaker, the bride being conveyed to Ceylon in a Company's vessel, and with her there came her parents and other relatives, who settled at Court. The King appreciating the fact that only a Buddhist could rule over the Sinhalese, devoted himself enthusiastically to his people's religion. Though there were no Upasampada Bhikkhus, novices were collected and encouraged, Viharayas repaired, preaching halls established and religious books copied and distributed. The shrines of antiquity were visited by the King, elephants and horses were offered to the Great *Bo*, and a festival celebrated at Mahiyangana; while the *Esala Perahera*, which was "regarded by all the people as conducive to prosperity"* was observed with much splendour, the King himself taking part in the procession.

Parakrama Bahu the Great was the model Kirti Sri set before himself; he visited Polonnaruva, and came back with the resolution, "I also will walk in the excellent path of the duties of Kings."* The people were intensely stirred: religion was in the mouth of everyone. Ra Siha Deviyo of Sitavaka, in punishment for the disloyalty of some members of the Sangha, had transferred the custody of Sri Pada to the Indian *Andi*, "who rub ashes all over their bodies, thus foreshadowing that they will be reduced to ashes by the fire of the most horrible hell."* The insult was bitterly felt and never forgiven, and now the King appointed the most respected man in his Kingdom, Saranankara, as custodian of the shrine. At the same time Kuttapitiya in the Navadun Korale, once the *Nindagama* of Simao Pinhao, the doughty Portuguese husband of Ra Siha's grand daughter, was dedicated to its service.

The Ambassadors sent by the late King in 1747 had reached Batavia, and leaving behind the presents they had brought had made their way to Siam, to ascertain if the Maha Viharaya succession was available there. They returned from their quest only to learn that their King was dead. As the Company's officers advised them to take no further action till the new King's wishes were known, they started back home; but most of them died on the voyage.

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*Mahawansa.

These repeated misfortunes did not damp the ardour of the religious party. Ahalepola supported Saranankara, and a fresh Mission, of five ambassadors and sixty-one attendants, started in August 1750 from Trikuna Male with a letter for the King of Siam. After narrowly escaping destruction in a storm and being forced by adverse winds to remain for six months at Batavia they at length reached Siam, where they were received by the King with the most gratifying kindness, and a vivid account of their experiences has been preserved.

A Chapter headed by Upali Maha Thero accompanied them on their perilous voyage back, and on the night of Saturday, the Full Moon day of the month of *Esala* in the 2299th year after the death of the Buddha, in the presence of the King, Kobbyakaduve Unanse, Saranankara, and four others received the *Upasampadava.* "And thus after many years this solemnity, which so long had been neglected in Lanka, was observed once more amidst the rejoicings of the populace, the triumphant noise of drums, chanks, and the five kinds of music, and the roar of cannon."*

Within three years seven hundred Bhikkhus followed their example and many thousand youths of good family joined as Samaneras. Saranankara was raised to the high dignity of *Sangha Raja*, or Chief over the entire Sangha, an office which was in abeyance since Sri Rahula's death in the fifteenth century. When at length the Siamese returned home, the ambassadors who escorted them back took a model of the Tooth Relic as a present from the Sinhalese Ruler to King Dharmaka of Siam; it was gratefully accepted, and a fresh Chapter was sent in October, 1755, with more religious books and offerings for the Relic.

Early in 1751 Levuke died suddenly on his return from an embassy to Colombo, and was succeeded by Dumbara Rala ; Van Gollenesse left in March, and six months later Joan Gideon Loten arrived as Governor. The policy of peace with the Court was rigidly adhered to, and Lienderan de Saram, a *persona grata* with the Ministers, was appointed Maha Mudaliyar, with the name of Karunaratna. He was the nephew of Vijaya Srivardhana, who till 1736 had, in the same capacity, been of much help in the negociations with the Court. A handsome jewelled medal was presented to Karunaratna, and its Latin inscription bore evidence not only to the Company's appreciation of his loyalty and zeal, but also to the scholarship of the new Governor, who had some reputation as a student of Natural History.

Loten was not fortunate in the circumstances of his administration. Plague broke out in the country and played havoc among the population, followed in May 1755, by a cyclone which ruined valuable plantations

* R. A. S. Cey. Vol. xviii p.—38.

and seriously affected the inland revenue. There was friction with the Hoofd Administrateur, the official who supervised the Company's Trade and Commerce. He was charged before the Council with neglect of duty and peculation, and a violent scene, embittered by personal recrimination, followed, the accused defying the Governor to do his worst, and swearing in violent language that he was prepared to risk everything. He was finally dismissed from office.

The Governor's anxieties were increased when a formal demand was received from the Court for a share in the elephant trade. Evasive replies followed, but the Ministers refused to be put off in this fashion, and repeatedly pressed their demand, insisting further on the opening of the port of Puttalam. The question was referred to the authorities at Batavia, who hesitated and finessed, but at last plucked up courage to take a decision. Early in 1757 Jan Schreuder, a native of Hamburg who had risen from the ranks of the army, arrived as successor to Loten, and the two conveyed to the Sinhalese ambassadors at Colombo, the refusal of both requests.

CHAPTER VI.

"The pitcher which had gone so often to water, became leaky by degrees and broke to pieces in my hand at a wrathful push of the displeased Court" wrote Schreuder as he left the country in March, 1762. The shrewd Van Imhoff had foretold the probable result of the Company's policy, and it was Schreuder's misfortune that the catastrophe took place during his administration. A hundred years had passed since the expulsion of the Portuguese, and before narrating the incidents which precipitated the crisis, it is convenient to pause a moment and inquire whether the Netherlands Company had justified its existence.

The Hollander declared, as unctuously as is usual, that God had entrusted him with a special mission to conquer, and incidentally to exploit, the heathen, and it might well be that some Hollanders really did believe in this profession. Exploiting the country was the Company's main object and for this it was necessary that there should be peace, and that the people should develop on certain lines the latent resources at their disposal; the result was a degree of peace and well-being which formed a satisfactory contrast to what prevailed under the Portuguese. No exceptional oppression or violence was permitted, save what was dictated by the requirements of a Company of Merchants intent on heavy dividends.

Naturally enough it preferred to have Europeans in all lucrative posts, and nearly every race of Europe was represented in its service and were known to the natives by the common name of Hollanders. Only people born in Europe were officially classed as European; the children of a European father born in the country were called *pusties*, and the children of *pusties*, named *casties*, were classed as natives. It was recognised that such natives were less competent than Europeans, and as no question of returning home could arise with them, they were paid at a lower rate than Europeans.* The Mestici were the offspring of mixed marriages with Asiatics. The men of all these classes, as well as the Tupasses and the descendants of freed slaves, dressed alike; while among the women the Mestici, Tupasses and freed slaves had a costume of their own, which differed from that worn by the rest.

*The accuracy of these statements has been challenged by Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, I.S.O., late Government archivist; they are based on Van Imhoff's Memoire, pp.—75, 76 of the translation issued under his supervision.

As there was no recognised authority on the spot to check the Executive, acts of nepotism were notoriously common. For instance a scullion from Europe who had been house-steward to the Governor, was placed in charge of Negombo, while an ex-tailor was appointed to a similar position at Trikuna Male. The son-in-law, actual or prospective, of an influential official, was sure of preferment, and excuses were easily found for new appointments. As Governor North reported in 1799, ("The Company's) service was not considered as creditable by respectable families in Holland and almost all the posts in it were occupied either by foreigners or by persons born in the country, who rose by the countenance and patronage of Governors obliged to maintain their authority by arts little calculated to render them exact in selecting merit, or just in promoting it."

The public service was overstaffed, and the allowances of cash, rice and other rations granted to the Company's servants, were a heavy drain on its resources. The system of perquisites, a legacy from the Portuguese, had a depressing effect on trade; everyone selling to the Company was expected to allow an overcharge, amounting in the case of pepper to 12½ per cent., to be divided among certain favoured officials.

Much dishonesty prevailed and Van Gollenesse had to order the prosecution of several prominent public servants. "Who loves the truth" wrote Schreuder when referring to them, "cannot deny that the greater part had been awaked by me as it were from the sleep of laziness and carelessness, and I kept them awake by continual inciting, earnest admonitions, threats and fines." Indeed, one Commandeur at Jafanapatnam saved himself the trouble of thinking, by passing over to his Secretary a blank sheet signed by himself at the bottom, to be filled in with such orders as the Secretary thought desirable.

The Company in Ceylon strangely failed to live up to the reputation of the United Provinces for legal instinct; it was still possible for the Governor in 1751 to complain that the Members of the Chief Court had no knowledge of law, and consequently their decisions were frequently upset on Appeal at Batavia. Intermeddlers and unlicensed Proctors exercised as evil an influence in the Courts as they do now.

"If there is any point of administration as regards the natives of Ceylon that may be called intricate and almost infeasible, it is that concerning the possession and mortgaging of land."* This opinion was expressed by van Imhoff in 1740, and no Government has yet faced the situation with courage. He found that the Landraad had ceased

* Van Imhoff's Memoir, p. 20.

to exist save at Matara, and the hard worked Merchant who held the office of Disava was expected to deal with this complicated subject, in addition to his numerous trade and administrative duties. The result was that land disputes were usually referred to native Commissioners, and, just as it had been under the Portuguese, it was soon found out that the Disava's Interpreter or Atapattu Mudaliyar was the real umpire in these cases.

Those abuses which always must be expected as long as public officers are incompetent to carry on public business in the language used by the public, prevailed in all directions. In addition there was that delay of justice which is not less hurtful than injustice, and lands which were the subject of dispute lay uncultivated for many years pending a decision. Van Imhoff therefore urged the re-establishment of the Landraad both at Galle and Colombo, and his recommendation was accepted, two new Courts were opened, and sat for two days in the week to dispose of land suits, monthly reports being sent to the Governor of the work done. These Courts were strictly enjoined to bring to the notice of Government any case in which the instructions laid down for their guidance were opposed to the Custom of the country.

The Jaffna Tombo had been kept up and renewed every fifteen years, the last revision being in 1754; a Head Tombo was prepared for the Manar District; but in the South the state of things was not satisfactory. It was an early discovery that one of the surest ways to secure the peace of a harassed official was to refuse the public access to public registers; accordingly de Heere "of blessed memory" had ordered the Portuguese Tombo of Colombo, over which Antao Vaz Freire had toiled for so many years a century before, to be burnt. No systematic effort had been made since to prepare a new Tombo, though various local Rolls dealing with minor matters, such as Arecanut and Cinnamon, were in existence, till in 1739 the work was started in the Matara Disavani.

The Tombo now prepared was a register of all persons and landed property arranged according to provinces and districts, showing the extent of the occupied territory, the number of the population, the services the inhabitants were liable to perform, the duty they had to pay for their lands, the denominations under which the lands were assessed, the title of parties thereto, what *badavedili* and other privileges they enjoyed, and what unoccupied lands were available for disposal.

In the case of lands belonging to the Company, a duty of one third of the produce was imposed where they had been planted with its consent, otherwise one half; if no documentary title could be established they were presumed to be the property of the Company planted without consent.

Where there was written proof that all the Company's dues had been paid, or that the lands had been given free of dues in reward for services rendered, no duty was levied. There were several classes of land held in Paraveni, which was the nearest to tenure in fee simple ; of these the largest consisted of the Service Paraveni lands, which were held subject to *Rajakariya*, or service to Government, in accordance with caste and birth. Such lands descended to a man's heirs with the same liability attached thereto, and could not be mortgaged or sold. Where the tenant received promotion to a higher grade, as by appointment to a Mudaliyarship, the services in connection with these lands had to be performed by a substitute, or a duty paid. *Malapalu* lands were those which lapsed to Government on failure of heirs, and *Nilapalu* what were abandoned because of their lack of fertility, an out-break of small-pox, or some similar reason. All such were again at the disposal of the Company, which re-allotted them, usually as *Badavedili*.

As for rice fields, those from which the Company derived a profit consisted of the ancient royal *Muttettu*, which the inhabitants had to cultivate for its benefit free of charge, and the *Ande* and *Otu* fields, on which the cultivators paid a half and a tenth of the crop respectively as the Company's share. Both van Gollenesse and Schreuder urged the superiority of transplanting the paddy plant, as was done in the North, to broadcasting the seed but without the slightest effect.

The preparation of the Tombo involved much labour and delay ; opposition, mostly passive, was encountered on every side : and while the Council was kept busy with resolutions for compelling registration, the transfer of property was seriously hampered. The Colombo Tombo, begun in 1742 ,was completed by August, 1759, when an immediate revision was ordered. Three years later the Galle Tombo was nearly complete ; while that of Matara which was begun first of all and which caused most trouble, came to an untimely end, as will be seen later.

The satisfactory administration of the country depended on the efficiency of the native chiefs and headmen, through whom all administrative acts had to be carried out. Over every Korale there was a Mudaliyar in charge of the Lascarins of the Korale, and a Korale Vidane, now called Korala, who looked after the Company's revenue, supervised cultivation and collected dues. The Korala was assisted by Atu Koralas, and Vidanes were appointed over groups of villages. There had set in a tendency to increase unreasonably the number of these officials, all of whom had to be provided for. Bribery was largely instrumental in securing posts, and consequently it was not always that the best men were selected, while the successful candidates hoped to recoup themselves for

their expenditure by fleecing the villagers. The unhealthy craving for petty titles and distinctions, entailing, as it must always do, the destruction of independence and self-respect, was as strong then as it is now, and everyone connected with parties in office expected to be remembered. Van Imhoff attempted to reduce their number by combining where possible the offices of Korala and Mudaliyar, and he also suggested that, in the more important divisions, Atu koralas should be raised to the rank of Mohundirams. He was anxious that complaints against them should not be suppressed, for he realised how often there was reason for the complaint, and how difficult, if not impossible, it was for the villager to prove his case against anyone in power.

The remuneration of these officers was considered excessive ; there was no fixed rule on the subject, and the amount was left to the humour of the Governor. A Mudaliyar who received an extensive *Badavedilla*, did not trouble to have the less fertile land cultivated, or put it to the best use possible. It was not unusual to allot an entire village as had been the custom under the Sinhalese Kings, and the grantee became entitled to the revenue which the Company used to obtain therefrom, subject to the payment of a small quit-rent. Nearly the whole of the Pasdun and Galle Korales had thus been given away, and encroachments made even on Gampaha and Vake, the two ancient *Gabada gam* which were of such value for provisioning the garrisons of Negumbo and Hanvalla. The village Mayorals, the real husbandmen, who had heavy duties to perform, were neglected, with the result that their number steadily diminished, as people preferred to be ranked as Lascarins, when they received comfortable *badavedili* and were liable to little service.

Van Gollenesse followed the principles indicated by Van Imhoff, and cut down the number of offices with a ruthless hand. He also framed a scheme for the allotment of *Badavedili*, laying down how much each public servant was to receive, from the 20 *amunam* of the Maha Mudaliyar, to the 20 *bera* of the village tom-tom beater or *Gam beravaya*. He also took action to get back for the Company or to levy a duty on lands given away without sufficient reason or at an undervaluation. It was at the same time enacted that no *Sanhas* conveying land was to be written on palm leaf, but only on paper signed by the Governor, an exception being made in the case of *badavedili* given to Lascarins.

The old body of Mudaliyars with their extensive grants had died away by the time he left, and only the aged Anthonan de Saram, father of the Maha Mudaliyar, and Tilakaratna of Matara, son of the renegade Punchi Appuhami, still remained ; so that a large extent of valuable land had reverted to the Company. Orders were given to reduce the number

of Lascarins, whose services now consisted mainly in carrying messages and capturing runaway slaves; in 1745 the number of *ranchu* for the Colombo Disavani was fixed at one hundred and five. Artisans such as carpenters and sawyers who received pay for their services, were not provided with *badavedili.*

Schreuder was unable to report much improvement in this difficult question, but he was prepared to see that charges were often made against them without foundation, by parties interested in creating vacancies. He was at one time inclined to recommend that these offices should be made hereditary in the families of the more deserving, but realising that this would exclude a large number whose claims were entitled to consideration, he desisted from doing so.

Besides the rice, the Company had other sources of revenue, which, though of little pecuniary importance, were of interest. The Alphandigo was the general Farm of all Customs duties not separately farmed or collected under another system. The fish tax was of some consideration; the caste of Fisher-men had its own headmen called *Patabendas,* among whom five per cent of the catch was divided, after which the farmer of the Government share received his portion, which at Colombo and Mutwal was a third of all fish caught by line. Fishing boats and nets were also liable to a duty, and such boats were owned by members of other castes as well. The *Pol aya* was a tenth of the yield of all coconut trees. The toddy and arrack rents never yielded very much; the renter of Colombo originally had the monopoly of export, but later this was thrown open to all, subject to a levy for his benefit. The retail price of arrack was fixed by the Company, and the renter was entitled to preempt three tenths of all arrack brought into Colombo for export. A small ground tax was levied from all bazars. Over each was a Bazar master who superintended the weights and measures, saw to the cleanliness of the premises, and reported to the Governor any shortage of provisions. *Decum* was in the nature of a poll tax, and was gradually abolished save in the case of some of the lowest castes.

The Company had several gardens, including a tobacco plantation at Negombo and a coconut land of fifteen thousand trees at Galkissa, which were leased out, as well as certain gemming rights in the Matara District and the Colombo Disavani. Gem cutting was chiefly carried on by the Moors of Matara. In Jaffna there were the stamping of cloth, and brokerage fees on tobacco and jaggery. At Manar the feeding of cattle under the tank beds was a source of profit, and certain dues were paid in *ghi* or butter. The right to winnow the sand at the site of the Fishery was also sold. Perhaps as interesting a tax as any was that levied on the

humble Moor and Chetty who desired to wear the loose slippers called *Papus*, sandals, or any other footgear. Originally the majority of the dues were collected on behalf of the Company, but it was found more profitable to farm them out, and at Colombo this was done every August by public auction.

Since 1732 there had been no pearl fishery. The Company's profits from a fishery did not arise directly from the oysters, but indirectly from levies on the boats engaged ; fees, varying according to religion, payable by the divers ; import duties, etc ; indeed the Company found it very difficult to secure pearls even by purchase, in consequence of the competition of the Indian merchants. Against the profits had to be set off the heavy expense of organising the fishery and maintaining guards, the chances of an outbreak of illness in the great assembly, the certainty of much smuggling, and the dislocation of its normal trade. In view of all this van Imhoff recommended selling the right of fishery by public auction ; this advice was adopted ; the right to fish for thirty days with 600 men was sold, and for the five years following 1746 the Company obtained a large profit without incurring any risk. This created much interest at Court, and in 1750 twenty-one of the King's vessels appeared off Chilaw and dived for oysters. The Company's vessels hovered about, for the Hollanders were not prepared to admit the King's right to any *dominium maris* or to any oysters ; fortunately none were found, and thus complications were avoided. There was no fishery during the time of Schreuder.

Among other sources of revenue from the sea were the chanks which were exported to India ; the cowries from the Maldives, which were in demand in Europe for the African slave trade ; and the shark skins, largely employed for covering the sword-handles of Japanese Daimios. It was however recognised that the country's wealth lay in its agricultural products. The increasing demand for coffee, which introduced among Europeans in the middle of the seventeenth century was fast revolutionising their social manners, drew attention to the possibility of growing it in the Island, and in September, 1720, Rumpf issued a proclamation, worded with all the skill of a modern advertising agent, urging the people to take up its cultivation. The advantages of the new product were soon realised, and the terms offered by the Company were more liberal than was usual in its dealings : for the chief difficulty experienced in persuading the people to take up any new cultivation, was the not groundless fear that it would entail some new duty to Government. There was a speedy response, and once again the energetic Vijayavardhana received from the Company, on a plate of gold, an acknowledgment of his zeal ; he

died not long after, having served the Company for forty six years. A special officer appointed to supervise the cultivation, proved a source of oppression to the people, who had to supply provisions for him and his attendants during his frequent tours. The Sinhalese officials therefore unanimously requested Pielat to abolish the office, promising an increased quantity of coffee if they were relieved of his exactions ; the office was abolished and the supply from Colombo was immediately doubled, till in 1739 a hundred thousands pounds were exported. The output from Java and the West Indies had in the meantime attained such dimensions, that the price fell heavily and the Company began to discourage cultivation, with the result that the plantations were soon neglected, and the berries lay uncollected on the ground, for the people had not yet learnt to use it. Then came a ruinous war in Java lasting from 1741 to 1758 which so reduced the supply from there that orders were received by Schreuder to buy up all the coffee available, and prospects were again bright.

Cardamoms, Ensal, were obtained almost exclusively from Sinhale by way of Matara, and the troubles with the Court so affected the supply that they nearly disappeared from the trade returns ; Versulys therefore attempted to persuade the people in the Galle and Matara Districts to grow the finer but smaller Malabar variety, but with little success. The Company then increased the price it was prepared to pay, and thus succeeded in keeping up a fairly satisfactory supply. Van Imhoff however discovered some of the Malabar plants growing at Hanvalla in the garden of Paulo Alvis Mudaliyar, the able and energetic Chief of the Hevagam Korale, and instructed him to open up a plantation. This he did and van Gollenesse was able to report a large increase, though termites sadly damaged the garden at Esvatta. The cultivation spread into the Siyane and Pasdun Korales, but the trouble from termites was so great that in 1757 instructions were received from Batavia to discontinue the attempt.

Pepper again was an article which first the Portuguese and then the Hollanders made many attempts to develop, for there were heavy profits to be made from it, and a large quantity was required yearly for packing with the cinnamon which was shipped. Versluys took much interest in the matter, and van Imhoff tried to persuade the Court as well to take up the subject. Many Sinhalese availed themselves of the Company's eagerness to obtain large tracts of good land under agreement to plant the vine, which they utilised for other purposes. In spite of opposition the cultivation gradually spread ; Don Bastian, the Mitrigala Vidane opened two plantations which were described as the two most beautiful gardens in the Siyane Korale, though the Korala, jealous of

his success, attempted to undo his work by removing the coolies allowed to him. The excessive drought of 1750 badly damaged most of the plantations. An attempt was made to compel the people by *placaats* to plant it but Schreuder pointed out that he increased the supply much more by raising the price moderately and treating the producer well, than his predecessors had done by their appeal to compulsion. In 1753 the export nearly reached the figure of 300,000 lbs.

Arecanut continued to yield abundant profits, and in 1746 more than 18,000 *amunam* were exported ; but the system of collection and the small price offered to the owners, killed all desire to increase the supply ; indeed often everything beyond the amount required to meet the Company's duty was left to rot under the trees as not worth gathering. The Company therefore entrusted the collection to some Moormen of Galle and Matara, under promise of handsome payment for any quantity delivered beyond the Company's duty. Profits were somewhat affected by the competition of the English areca from Atchin, but much more by smuggling. The remedy suggested by some was to abolish the monopoly and throw open the trade to everyone, subject to a duty for purposes of revenue ; but such a scheme was too much in advance of the times to be favourably considered.

Coconut cultivation was rapidly increasing, not only along the sea coast to the South of Colombo, and in the Peninsula of Kalpitiya, but inland as well. Planting forest which might contain cinnamon with coconut was not regarded with favour, for the revenue derivable from it was small. Indeed, Schreuder complained bitterly " where one saw formerly twenty or thirty peelers' tents pitched, one now finds nothing but coconut gardens." Owners distilled arrack from the toddy of their trees, after paying a small fee to the toddy renter, and supplied the shipping and garrisons with this spirit, which, it was believed " used moderately does as much good to our people as it does harm when taken in large quantities."* The distilling area was along the coast from Colombo to Matara, and extending three miles inland ; north of Colombo " pot-stills " were in use, as in the time of the Sinhalese Kings. The privilege of the arrack renter to demoralise a non-drinking population, was confined to the limited area round towns and military stations ; introducing liquor within the interior was forbidden, and the headmen were expected to see to the prohibition being enforced. As a rule taverns, recognised as the meeting places of gamblers and vagrants where stolen property could conveniently be disposed of, closed at 8 p.m.

* Zwardecroon's Memoir p. 73.

There were aspects of the Company's activities other than the mercantile, which have to be considered. In 1685 the Chief Physician had drawn the attention of the authorities to the alarming prevalence of a disease, described as leprosy, among the children of the Hollanders by their native or Mestico wives ; the affected persons were segregated and in the time of Simons a spacious Asylum was built at Hendala, which is in use down to the present day.

The zeal which once marked the Company's attempts to educate the people and convert them into the " true Reformed Faith " had exhausted itself, and the villager's experience of the blessings which the foreigners' religion was expected to bring, had not been such as to destroy his inherited love for his ancestral religion. The formulas which the Portuguese priest taught as the one true religion, today might well excite a smile ; but he was inspired by a passionate, though perhaps not always scrupulous, devotion, which still carried him within the Company's territory. Repressive measures followed, and in 1699 on Van Rheede's orders, all Roman Catholic Churches and secret conventicles were closed, but it was a shock to the Company's officers when they discovered eight years later, that most of the thirty five churches in Jaffna were well stocked with heathen literature. It was impossible to blink the fact that the natives were at heart heathen. The Vannias who had all been baptised, were more than suspected of being " devil-worshippers," which probably meant Hindus, and their resolute refusal to admit Hollanders within their houses aggravated the suspicion. Becker tried the effect of legislation, and in a proclamation of 6th June, 1711, declared that whereas, " The clear instructions which we have constantly issued to dispel the darkness that surrounds the people of this country are to our immeasureable sorrow and great displeasure daily disobeyed and insulted, we find it expedient to awaken that attention which our blessed religion requires." This was to be effected by enacting that anyone found at a place of heathen worship or decorating heathen images or taking part in Hindu ceremonies, was liable to be summarily arrested and punished corporally as well as by rigorous imprisonment ; at the same time all priests officiating at the *Devalavas* were ordered to leave the Company's territory.

No one paid much attention to the proclamation, which was followed by an order forbidding Christians to marry Buddhists. As this too proved ineffective, in 1760 it was considered necessary to disgrace the Statute Book by an Ordinance to the effect that if a Christian woman lived with a pagan man, the two of them were liable to be flogged till blood appeared, to be branded, be confined in chains at hard labour for

life, have all their property confiscated, and their children taken for slaves. Yet in the Nanayakkara School at Matara, which was reserved for high-class Appuhamis, none of the desired children were to be found, as they had Bhikkhus at home to instruct them. The public chastisement of headmen for allowing heathen practises had no effect so long as the higher clergy showed little energy. The Hollander lacked the zeal of the Portuguese, and it is not possible to speak of him as a missionary. The clergyman was little more than a State official, whose annual visit was as much of a nuisance and source of expense to the villager as that of a revenue officer. Villages with a reputation for fat chickens and good mutton, which the inhabitants had to supply free of cost, never lacked the ministrations of these priests, who frequently took their wives with them, the public supplying palanquin bearers; but they often refused to visit the more remote and less attractive centres of population, till specific orders were sent for the purpose. Moreover they were forbidden to baptise slaves, as no Christian could be a slave, with the consequence that to most households there was attached a group of dissolute men and women who exercised a profoundly evil influence on the children.

Christoph Langhansz, a native of Breslau who was in Ceylon in 1696, expressed the opinion that as the Portuguese lost the Island in consequence of their excessive pride, so the Hollanders would some day share the same fate for their excessive avarice and neglect to teach Christianity to the heathen. It seemed that they excused their negligence by suggesting that "the Providence of the great God could not have wished it otherwise." Some attempt was made to remedy this discouraging state of things. A fine Church was erected within the Fort of Jaffnapatnam, where the Church of Our Lady of Miracles had been pulled down in 1692, and another ordered in 1723 at the ancient capital of Kotte. Seminaries were started at Jaffna and Colombo for training youths of good family for the Ministry, the first being closed before many years, while the second continued to exist as one of the institutions favoured by successive Governors. The students trained within its walls were few in number and were carefully selected; the Governor and Council usually attended their examination—indeed in one year the responsible clergy refused to hold the examination because the Governor's carriage was not sent to convey them. Van Imhoff recorded his delight at seeing the dusky youths who knew little or no Dutch, talking in Latin or poring over Greek. Annual reports were sent to The XVII in Europe, and selected students completed their course at the Universities of Holland, though the XVII had in 1700 disallowed the proposal, because a similar scheme had proved a failure in Batavia. Vijaya Srivardana Maha Mudaliyar at one time taught at the Colombo Seminary; and Henricus Philipsz,

son of Van Gollenesse's trusted Maha Mudaliyar Panditaratna, went from it to Utrecht and Amsterdam, and returned as a Predikant to labour among his own people.

Nevertheless Christianity made but small progress ; the causes which operate so adversely today acted with equal force under the Company, and Pielat, Van Imhoff, and Van Gollenesse all complained bitterly that the clergy were not competent to preach in the language of the country. The people could not think of a God who had to be addressed in a foreign tongue, and it was here that the far-seeing Church of Rome, which was quick to establish a native ministry wherever it went, found its strength. In spite of all its efforts the Company could not check the ingratiating influence of that Church. It tried to extirpate Popery by punishing its adherents, forbidding baptism by priests, and rendering the reception of a priest a penal offence ; as in the case of Mohammedans and the heathen, their marriages were not considered legal if they did not conform to the regulations of the Company. But the persistence of the Mestiço priests from Goa could not be stopped, and they had a large following along the coast from Jaffna to Matara.

It is true that the religion of the converts was described as sitting lightly on them. Jacob Haafner of Halle, a German of wide experience in the Company's Eastern settlements, who was in Ceylon in 1782, stated that they knew little of Christianity save to make the sign of the cross and to mutter a prayer, the very criticism which had been passed more than a hundred years before. Elias Paravacini de Capelle of Breda, who spent more than thirty years in various parts of Ceylon, expressed a similar opinion regarding the Mukkuvas of Puttalam. As a rule, little had been done beyond substituting new incantations and ceremonies in place of the old. None the less there were congregations prepared to take up a bold attitude on the question of freedom of conscience. For instance in 1750 the Roman Catholics of Negombo presented a memorial written in Tamil, in which, while declaring their firm adherence to the religion their ancestors had adopted two hundred years before, they protested against their children being compelled to learn at the schools tenets to which they objected, and complained of being forced by heavy fines to send their children to such schools. The Consistory to which it was referred, recommended that the regulations against Popery should be strictly enforced, Romish baptisms and marriages not acknowledged, and only Protestants appointed as headmen. The Council, which did not always work in harmony with the Consistory, while pointin out that it was not within the latter's province to offer advice on questions of administration, retorted that it would greatly regret if it were compelled in making appointments to confine itself to Protestants, and in turn

advised the clergy to learn the native languages sufficiently well to be able to influence the people against Popery.

The Roman Catholics thereupon grew more aggressive ; in Puttalam and Kalpitiya one priest obtained a wide reputation by exorcising locusts and beetles which damaged coconut trees ; at Kalutara public exhibitions and processions were started till their leader was arrested and banished, and at Negombo they insulted the clergy and resorted to open violence. In 1757 on the report of the Scholarchal Commission, the Council ordered some Chapels built there to be pulled down, when the people sent to do the work were opposed by a crowd of women. The Disava therefore despatched some Lascarins to enforce compliance ; near Toppu they were attacked by a mob of fishermen, and the military had to be called out. Some of the ring-leaders were arrested, but the inhabitants abandoned Toppu and Pallansena, and collecting on an Island on the borders of the Company's territory refused to return, whereupon the military pulled down the offending structures and withdrew.

In the same year a youth who had been sent from the Seminary to Leyden, published in Holland a pamphlet which created a great scandal. He declared the ministers worked not for the love of God, but merely for gain ; they were apathetic and indolence alone prevented their learning the native languages : but for Van Imhoff's efforts the Church in Ceylon would have been as good as dead. This attack occasioned much discussion among the clergy, who bitterly reproached the outspoken youth for his ingratitude in casting such aspersions on those under whom he had learnt. Some years later he returned as an ordained clergyman, when he retracted his criticisms and brotherly feeling was restored.

Apart from this clerical indifference the scandalous lives of some of the Hollanders, including men in high places, proved as much of a stumbling block to conversion, as it had done in Portuguese times. The private life of Van Domburg, when Governor designate, was such that serious reports had to be sent to Batavia. Not unnaturally the natives were unable to understand why what was a penal offence when committed by them, passed unnoticed in the case of a Hollander. So lax were they that out of a congregation at Colombo numbering a thousand souls, barely fifty attended the Church service on Sunday. The completion in 1749 of a noble church at Wolvendahl did little to remedy matters.

The Scholarchal Commission which was in charge of education, had also the supervision of native Christians and their matrimonial concerns and saw to the School Tombos. These were registers containing a record of the domestic history of each individual, showing who and what his parents and family were ; when he was born, baptized and married. what education he received, when he died and what family

he left behind. It appointed two inspectors who visited the schools once a year to report on their progress, check the registers and audit the fines which were freely imposed for non-attendance at school and church. They also baptised the children, and performed the marriage service of Christians whose Banns had been published in the course of the previous year; such publication came to be regarded as itself an informal rite which entitled the parties to live as husband and wife pending the yearly religious service.

The Board was not more energetic than the clergy and for the five years prior to 1703 never met, so that the Schools were neglected, and the buildings in many cases fell into decay, the very beams being stolen from them. After a period of fitful energy, the troubles of 1735 nearly destroyed all school operations, but Van Imhoff took an active interest in the subject, and the establishment of a printing press in 1736 was expected to mark the commencement of a change for the better; but though various edifying books and tracts were issued little improvement was noticeable. In 1760 the basis of education at the Seminary was widened so as to train youths to be chief headmen and schoolmasters, and regulations were framed for the purpose. At the same time preparing them for the ministry was discouraged.

No provision appears to have been made for the education of girls, but what was even more remarkable was the Company's negligence in regard to the sons of its European servants. Eschelskroon, a German with much experience of the East, published in 1784 a short account of Ceylon, in which he drew attention to this omission. The East was an unhealthy atmosphere for European children; few parents were in a position to send them to Europe for their education, while the very large majority allowed them to grow up in their homes as best they could. Their chief companions were the numerous slaves who surrounded them, and it was mainly from these slaves that the rising generation of Hollanders imbibed their views of life. Flattery and adulation were their daily food, and they gradually learnt to consider themselves so superior to those around them, that they needed not to acquire even a little book learning or adequately qualify themselves for future service. In the few cases where a proper tutor was provided, the influence of the familiar slaves soon destroyed the effect of such moral teaching as he conveyed to them. The result was that the Ceylon-born Hollander degenerated rapidly, and his ambition did not extend much beyond eating and drinking. Such masters as were to be found in the schools were, if Eschelskroon is to be trusted, the so-called "chaplains that come with the ships from Europe, or more usually still, broken mechanics, such as bakers, shoe-makers, glaziers, etc."

CHAPTER VII.

Kirti Sri Raja Sinha had married in addition to his first Queen two others, the daughters of Gabbedature Nayaker and Rama Nayaker, and their relatives too had accompanied them to Court till it assumed a "novel, namely a Malabar, countenance," as Schreuder remarked. It is true that Sinhalese still continued as Ministers, but the real force behind the Throne consisted of Malabars chief among them being his own father, Narenappa Nayaker, a determined and resourceful man, and a strict disciplinarian. Sinhalese officials were jealously watched as the King feared a combination among them, and they were supervised by Malabars who filled the most lucrative appointments and for whose maintenance a large revenue was required. Mampitiya, now advanced in years and blind, wielded much influence, and his ripe experience and sound judgment always commanded respect. The King, who had no children by his Queens, had taken as his *Yakada Doliya* the daughter of Mampitiya's son, the late Bintenne Disava; she bore him a son and two daughters, and his passionate attachment to her greatly strengthened Mampitiya's position.

Schreuder after repeated attempts to purchase the goodwill of the leading Ministers, at last ruefully confessed that with one exception their moral rectitude had been proof against his blandishments, the exception being Dumbara, who was still in charge of Tun and Satara Korales. All communications with the Ministers except the annual letter to Court, were carried on either by the Disava of Colombo or the Maha Mudaliyar through him, and consequently his goodwill was worth a great deal to the Company which gave him an annual allowance of six thousand rix dollars, and valuable presents from time to time. It is a question whether Dumbara merely was trading upon the Company's gullibility, for when matters reached a crisis he proved an able and trustworthy servant of the King; but for the moment he was hinting that the allowance might be increased with advantage to both sides.

The one anxiety of the Company's officers who desired to win the approbation of the Directors, was to secure every year the ten thousand bales of cinnamon which provided the bulk of the Company's profits. This created a most humiliating state of things, which Schreuder felt acutely. In the whole of India," he wrote, " no product is so miserably

ill-conditioned . . . If one knew the difficulties and inconveniences it occasioned, how the Company from time to time humbled itself to the whimsical Court for that small bark, and what we have suffered for it, one would acknowledge that the collection of the cinnamon finally depended on a phantastical Prince and the whimsicalities of his covetous courtiers."

Every year an embassy had to be sent to secure with abject genuflexions the right to collect it in the King's dominions, and then it had to be fetched like " a firebrand from the fire " with heartburnings and anxiety as to whether it would be in time for the sailing season.

No sooner was one difficulty overcome than another was raised by the ingenuity of the courtiers, till the stuff reached the Company's territory. The Chalias served as a convenient tool for worrying the Hollanders; at a hint from Court they would disappear out of reach into the King's dominions, and without them there could be no peeling. Often they had to be coaxed back with a promise that even the ring-leaders would not be punished ; but " a Governor would rather venture everything and even sacrifice a part of his own possessions, than fail in sending cinnamon."

Similar tactics were followed in the case of the elephants ; each year leave had to be obtained to convey them to Jaffna over the King's territory, but the moment they reached the border difficulties would be raised by the local officials, and serious delay created by numerous references to headquarters. When timber had to be felled near Batticaloa, where it was abundant, it was found that permission to fell was not the same as permission for the woodcutters to enter the kingdom, or to remove the timber when felled. As it took four weeks for a letter to reach Colombo from Batticaloa, the seriousness to the Company of these tactics can well be realised.

Desertions by the Company's subjects were so frequent that military men were forbidden to cross the *Kadavatu* without a pass ; a reward of ten rix dollars was promised to anyone who arrested such deserters, and half that sum where the deserter was a slave. There was the same trouble with the King over these men, and only now and then would he be persuaded to surrender a few slaves or peelers, usually on the condition that they would not be punished ; this naturally encouraged desertion.

Sometimes the King capriciously closed his *Kadavatu* and prohibited export of grain from Sinhale thus causing much distress among the Company's subjects. The reason for all this was not hard to find. " The Court for the last nine years first requested, then demanded, next insisted, now in a most insolent manner has sought to compel us, to permit it to

share in the most substantial and considerable monopolies and branches of the Company's trade, *viz.*, Areca and Elephants," complained Schreuder.

The change was very great from the days when the Company thought that the Court was being " hoodwinked with outward pomp, caresses and compliments." The Nayakers at Court brought with them the larger experience of India, and the Ministers were no longer prepared to allow their country to be a milch-cow for the Company's benefit or to permit it to control the entire coast.

Schreuder could see the reasonableness of their attitude; he admitted that where it was rendered worth their while, no difficulty arose about the supply of goods. He anticipated that if the cinnamon from the King's dominions were paid for, everybody would be satisfied. In the Company's own territory the name of cinnamon was loathed, for it only reminded the people of harsh measures to protect the wild plant, restrictions on the development of valuable lands, incursions by the rough Chalias on private property, and generally discomfort and loss; the very crows which served to distribute the wild seed, might not be killed, in spite of the damage they caused. Everyone therefore took a delight in destroying it whenever they could do so with safety, and the supply obtainable within its territory was diminishing at a rate which caused alarm. Schreuder pointed out that if the cultivation was thrown open to everyone, on condition of selling the produce to the Company at a reasonable fixed rate, there need be no anxiety about the supply. His views were not acceptable to the Batavian authorities, and were rewarded with a private reprimand.

The next best policy, indeed the only other open if force was to be avoided, was that of obsequiousness to the King, who called them his " faithful Hollanders, the guardians of his coast." The Sinhalese view of the relation which existed between the King and the Company is thus stated by the writer of the *Mahavansa* . . . " The Hollanders, who were powerful merchants, had been appointed in the time of Raja Sinha to defend the Island, and continued to perform the duties of messengers to the Kings of Lanka. It was their custom to bring presents of great value every year, with much honour and in great procession." Schreuder regarded the matter from a different standpoint. " We cannot stir," he grumbled, " much less make proper profit of this conquest, if we do not continually, indeed, nauseatingly, flatter and caress the Court ; and though this is commonly called by us, keeping the Court in good humour, it tends to the great degradation of the Honourable Company, which

formerly made itself so feared in this country, but now almost continually has to play the lying little poodle."

At the same time, he pointed out, all the time-honoured means adopted to weaken the King were to be followed ; all dissensions at Court, and dissatisfaction among his people, were to be encouraged and utilised for the Company's benefit. It was found however that this was less easy now, when the Disavas were responsible directly to the Court, than in former times when they were feudatory Princes, but slightly controlled by the King, to whom they rendered only certain nominal services.

Moreover the Company's subservience created a dangerous condition among its own subjects, who were filled with the idea that their real lord was the King, with whose permission they served the Company, and on whose orders such service must cease. They maintained an intimate correspondence with the Court, which was kept well informed of everything that took place. The danger arising from this was recognised, but the Company was helpless to check it. Karunaratna himself incurred Schreuder's suspicion and in spite of the risk of offending the Court, he in 1758 was arrested and banished to the Cape, from where he did not return for many years. It was realised that the King could with the greatest ease upset the Company's plans and that if it was not prepared " to dance according to the King's pipes," at a nod from him the flame of revolt would run from Korale to Korale.

There had been unrest, especially in the South, from the beginning of Schreuder's tenure of office ; this was checked by treating the chief headmen with sternness, and holding them responsible for any outbreak, Tennekon Mudaliyar, who was Gaja nayaka at Matara, and others being banished. But the feeling among the people grew in bitterness, especially as the result of Schreuder's harsh measures to reclaim for the Company lands which had long been possessed by the villagers. The manner in which the most valuable public records had disappeared should have taught the Company's officers that villagers could not be expected to preserve their palm-leaf scrolls for any length of time in huts exposed to the inroads of termites ; even the ferocious de Azavedo had admitted one and a half centuries before the reasonableness of the plea of their loss. Entire districts had been abandoned, and the inhabitants removed among the mountains on Raja Sinha's orders, and these men were now coming back to find their lands under forest or occupied by others. This led to much litigation before the Landraad, and opposition to the Tombo. Owing to their abject poverty the villagers could not be forced to purchase back the share which the Company claimed, and therefore men accompanied by a military force, were sent into the country to cut down the coconut trees they had grown.

Matters were so bad that in parts of the Colombo Disavani the villagers threatened to abandon their homes and go away, rather than submit to these exactions, and there was much discontent regarding the manner in which the renters collected the dues from the rice fields. At last in 1760 the exasperated inhabitants rose in a general rebellion which, spreading rapidly through the Sinhalese provinces, was so determined that the Company was at its wits' end. For some months the country was in the hands of a riotous mob which burnt down the schools and rest-houses and destroyed even the Landraad House at Galle. To aggravate the situation the Chalias, probably acting on a hint from the Court, set fire to the cinnamon they had collected and fled within the King's dominions. The Sinhalese appealed for redress of their grievances to the King who expostulated with the Company and at the end of the year there was some improvement in the situation.

Kirti Sri had two brothers, the younger of whom was born in Ceylon, and the relations which existed between them were most affectionate. They had received the status of sub-kings with permission to use the Royal Parasol, and establishments which were almost regal. They were heartily in sympathy with the Buddhist tendencies of their brother, and themselves took an active part in endowing monasteries and training Bhikkhus. " These three brothers " says the writer of the *Mahavansa*, " having obtained and divided among themselves a kingdom, contended not with each other for greatness. They dwelt together in one city, and clave to each other like their own shadows. This I say is a marvellous thing."

But the King had troubles of his own. As the result of instigation from Colombo, and dislike of a Dravidian King, a conspiracy was formed to kill him, and place on the throne a youth said to be of the royal family, who had become a Bhikkhu in Siam. The conspirators invited the king to hear *Bana* at the Poya Malu Viharaya and on the way they hoped to entice him into a pitfall which was prepared with deadly spikes of *kitul* and areca wood, and concealed under spathes of the plantain tree covered over with cloth ; Gopala Mudiyanse, a member of a Muslim family of doctors residing in Satara Korale which had been prominent in Portuguese times, informed Galagoda Rala of the plot, and the conspirators were arrested. Samanakkodi the Second Adikar, and three of the ring-leaders, were executed at Ampitiya. The Sangha Raja and Tibbatuvava, the Nayaka of Malvatta, being suspected of complicity, the former was placed in detention at Kehelalla, and the latter deprived of his office and imprisoned in the Bintenna. Gopala was rewarded with the lands of Moladanda Rala, one of the conspirators, and

Pilima Talauva appointed Second Adikar, Galagoda succeeding Ahalepola on the latter's death. The energy and decision with which Narenappa Nayaker acted during the crisis greatly strenthened his position at Court.

The King now openly took the part of the rebels, and early in 1761 armed men poured across the frontiers. Schreuder was distracted. The one thing which the Company was anxious to avoid was war for which it was hopelessly unprepared. Its garrisons consisted of men sent out from Europe under the name of soldiers very few of whom had ever handled a musket before, much less had any experience of fighting. They idled away their time with their Sinhalese partners, who exercised so strong a hold over them that they were credited with employing love potions. Though a soldier could rise to the position of Staff Officer, yet, as Schreuder complained, " the name of soldier seems to many to be low and common." The artillery was in charge of eighty men, of whom the Constables knew nothing beyond a few figures from their instruction books, while their assistants were only fit to apply the match ; there was not one who knew how to set a mortar or train a gun. In the whole country there was not a capable engineer, while the surveyors were so ignorant that the country was still unmapped and the routes little known.

The officials at Colombo hesitated, but the Sinhalese did not leave them much time for deliberation. Palingupana Rala, with the men of Uva, hurried down to the south, while Dumbara Rala, or Migastanna Disava as he is more commonly known, stormed Hanvalla and put its Dutch garrison to the sword. On the 3rd of January, 1761, Abraham Samlant, the Commandeur of Galle, writing from Matara reported a similar disaster in the Morowa Korale, followed by the desertion of the Mudaliyar of his own Porta and of Ekanayaka, the Mohottiaar of the Matara Disava Leembruggen, to the King.

Leembruggen himself was at Hakmana, which he abandoned in an attempt to reach Tangalla, the garrison of which, consisting of 112 men, had however retired to Matara, leaving behind a sloop to take him away, on which the Sinhalese opened fire with two small guns and forced it to keep out of range. The Tangalla garrison with some others were promptly sent back from Matara to help Leembruggen, but returned with the loss of 42 men including the two commanding officers, and many wounded by the Kodituvakku fire and arrows which harassed them all the way.

In the meantime Leembruggen was struggling on from Hakmana : he had already lost fifty men when near Tangalla the rest were taken prisoner. Fifty men with a supply of ammunition and stores had also

been despatched from Matara to the relief of Katuvana which they reached with the loss of most of the baggage elephants. Here they were soon under siege : three Sinhalese batteries opened fire with four-pound balls and they were compelled to surrender. The garrison marched out with their arms which they gave up at the Company's garden where the Sinhalese were drawn up in two ranks. They were then led before the King's Disava of Uva, Palingupana, who sat in state on a chair, and who invited them to take service under the King.

The news received from Galle on the 10th of February, was very gloomy : that Fort was not ready for hostilities and had neither ammunition nor provisions in the warehouses. " The women " reported the First Sworn Clerk "are hiding in the houses, and the men are not much better." Samlant had written to say that he could not hold Matara and had been offered a safe conduct. Palingupana now appeared with his army across the river. The First Adikar with the men of Sabaragamuva was already at Dikvalla. On Tuesday the third day after the Full Moon of Duruta, Palingupana sent a palm leaf letter to Samlant. He pointed out how hopeless was the position of Matara : he had his King's command to capture the place, and whatever the cost in life, his duty was clear. The other garrisons had to be killed because they insisted on fighting. The Hollanders, he declared, were trapped like fish in a net: the very foundations of the Fort would be cast into the sea and its site sown with kurakkan. He advised Samlant to retire while there was time instead of waiting till his provisions were exhausted in the hope of escaping by sea. He ended by reminding the Hollanders of the fate which had befallen their predecessors the Portuguese.

Samlant acted on this hint and on the 24th of March, 1761, abandoned Matara, which the Sinhalese proceeded to occupy, the Adikar taking up his quarters at Ekanayaka Mudaliyar's. It continued in the King's hands till March of the following year, and during this period the Portuguese Thombo of Matara and the new Dutch Thombo which had been prepared with so much labour, disappeared. All the outlying districts, which were seething with discontent, were occupied on behalf of the King, and Colombo was as good as blockaded.

The two Sinhalese Generals returned to their country, and after prostrating themselves before the King, reported what they had achieved. Each was rewarded with a tusked elephant, a gold-mounted sword, a collar of gold and extensive tracts of land.

In the meantime urgent appeals for help had been sent to India, and reinforcements were being hurried across from Choromandel and Malabar;

the insult to the Company had to be avenged, and it was decided to attack the king within his own frontiers.

The Sinhalese had ceased to be a fighting race ; trained soldiers were few, though about a thousand men armed in the European fashion were available near the Court ; they had no cannon and not many *Kodituvakku*. However the Portuguese wars had taught them, that the finest strategy was to inflict the maximum of loss on the enemy with the minimum of loss to themselves. They knew every inch of their forest-covered country ; every path was familar to them ; every crevice in the rocks where a man could shelter himself was prepared for defence. Their natural instinct for guerrilla fighting again asserted itself.

The invading army, encumbered with baggage, ill provided with guides, with little experience of warfare, and badly officered, reached the outskirts of the mountains and commenced axe in hand to clear the roads, for none were available save the steepest footpaths. Concealed behind trees the Sinhalese sharpshooters, with locally made guns, and their archers, began to worry the men with little danger to themselves. The drummers were the first victims, for it was they who both inspirited the native levies and also conveyed orders over great distances: it was said that after two days in the forest not a drummer was left. Next came the officers who were conspicuous by their uniforms, which they were soon obliged to change for the dress of privates.

Nightfall, which was expected to bring some relief, only made their situation worse, for the campfires threw the harassed troops into greater prominence, while deepening the gloom of the forest where the Sinhalese were concealed. Great trees which had been left half cut through came crashing down on them at the most unexpected places. Boulders thundered down whenever they entered any of the numerous defiles. The baggage and stores of ammunition were soon cut off. One half of the invading army, it was asserted, was destroyed, and the demoralised survivors precipitately retreated, defeated by an enemy whom they had never seen.

The Batavian authorities were in dismay. For a hundred years they successfully had avoided war ; they were willing to pay almost any price to secure peace, and they sent their instructions accordingly. The King too did not like the continuance of hostilities, and hints were given that an armistice would be not unwelcome.

Petrus Albertus van der Parra had only recently assumed duties as Governor General of Netherlands India, and on 8th December, 1761, a letter from him to the King reached Colombo in the Company's ship,

the *Sparenryk*. In honour of the occasion all vessels in the harbour were decked with flags from sunrise to sunset, and a number of the highest officials went on board to take charge of the letter, which lay there on a silver tray covered with gold brocade. As they left the ship's side the crew manned the yards and raised three cheers, while the *Sparenryk* fired a salute of nineteen guns, which was taken up by all the other vessels. On landing a procession was formed, which advanced between a double line of soldiers under triumphal arches; a native regiment with colours flying led the way, followed by drummers and trumpeters; then came dragoons and grenadiers, with their colours and music, escorting the Disava of Colombo, who carried the letter on his head. On either side of him were two officers with lighted flambeaux; while washermen spread white linen on which he and the bearers of the linen-covered case of presents should tread. More grenadiers, dragoons, and lascarins completed the escort.

The Governor, with the Council, awaited the procession at the gate of the Government House, where he took charge of the letter and conveyed it, under a salute from the land battery and all the vessels in the harbour, within the Reception Room, to be locked away in a special chest, and guarded day and night by a dragoon and a lascarin with drawn swords, till its removal from Colombo.

In view of this attitude of the Company it was hardly to be expected that the Court would abate its claims and the tension was not relieved when in March, 1762, the highborn Jan Lubert, Baron Van Eck, who had a reputation as a gallant soldier, replaced Schreuder; for he was not anxious to win unfamiliar honours on the field of diplomacy. While he was hurrying in all the soldiers who could be spared from India, the Court also turned in the same direction for assistance. An application to the Navab of the Carnatic was somewhat contemptuously refused, for, as he afterwards explained, the King was merely an *aldear* or country gentleman from Madura; on the other hand a verbal message to the British Company's Agents at Fort St. George appeared to meet with a different reception, and on 18th May, Pybus, a member of the Council, appeared at Gannoruva, having travelled by way of Kottiar. His diary of his visit has been preserved, and is full of interest as an authentic record of Court etiquette.

Senkadagala Srivardhana Pura was the official name of the capital which the Portuguese, confusing the capital with the principality—Kanda Uda Rata—generally described as Candia. Its position, situated as it was in a valley overshadowed by ranges of lofty hills, had naturally influenced its development. It consisted in the main of two streets each

a mile in length, running North and South, and connected by cross streets. The Palace was towards the South, resting against the thick woods which were preserved as a place of refuge, and having a large enclosure on the North. The majority of the houses in the more important portion of the town were tiled, and built as they were at the foot of the hills, stood as a rule at a height of several feet about the streets. Every night at about 8 o'clock a bell was rung, after which no one could appear in the streets without a light.

Pybus was lodged at Gannoruva in the *Tanayama* which was maintained there for the use of the Company's ambassador—a mud-walled and thatched house, built, according to the Sinhalese fashion, round an open square, with many small apartments and stores for the presents which usually accompanied the embassy. In the middle of the square was a kind of shrine, where the letter addressed to the King was kept under white cloth.

On the 24th Pybus was received in audience by the King. He started from the *Tanayama* at 7 p.m. amidst much firing of guns and beating of drums, the letter to the King, on a silver tray between several folds of white linen, being carried in front of him under a silk canopy. Everybody went on foot, Pybus and the Minister who escorted him walking hand in hand; and it was not till half an hour before midnight that, worn out and hungry, and bespattered with the mud which a heavy downfall of rain had caused, they arrived within sight of the Palace.

Here the procession halted till permission was received from the King to advance, which it did up to the outer gate, where Pybus was directed to stand facing the gate till a Minister came to lead him in, when he took off his hat and entered. A second gateway led them within a square court-yard, where some richly caparisoned horses and elephants were drawn up; Pybus now had to remove his shoes and was met by Pallegampahe Adikar, who with many complimentary speeches led him into another court, guarded by twelve halberdiers in white *Kabayas*, (long coats reaching to the knees,) and opening into the Audience Hall, the entrance to which was concealed by a white curtain. Pybus now taking the silver tray raised it above his head, when the curtain was drawn aside, showing beyond it another of red.

Six others in succession followed, till a doorway appeared screened by another white curtain. At last this was drawn aside, to reveal the King seated on a carved gilt throne which stood on a dais three feet in height. He wore a gold-worked jacket over a close-fitting vest, with a broad gold-embroidered belt round his waist. He had a jewelled dagger at his side and a scarlet cap surmounted by a small jewelled crown on

his head, while a large broad-sword with a jewelled handle rested against the throne. His feet were protected by slippers of crimson velvet and gold, and above him was suspended a canopy of white silk.

As the last curtain was drawn aside, the courtiers prostrated themselves six times invoking blessings on the King, who briefly acknowledged their salutation, Pybus continuing to stand with the tray on his head, till pulled down by the skirts of his coat and made to kneel on one knee. This ceremony was repeated four times, the party advancing by degrees till they reached the edge of a large Persian carpet spread in front of the throne, when Pybus was led up, and, kneeling on the lowest step of the dais, offered the letter to the King who received it. He then stepped backwards to the edge of the carpet and knelt down till given permission to sit as was convenient to himself, which he was very glad to do.

The large dimly-lit hall was hung with white cloth arches adorned with ruffs of white and red, *Reli-pallan*, dividing its length and forming two aisles. On each side knelt three people holding the *Ran Ayudha* or Golden Arms of the King; a narrow strip of linen hung under their chins, with which they covered their mouths whenever they had occasion to approach the throne. The conversation was purely formal and complimentary; the King's words were addressed to the Adikar, kneeling at the foot of the Throne, who prostrated himself and conveyed them to one of the Disavas near Pybus. He passed them on to a Malabar doctor in attendance, who repeated them in Tamil to Pybus' interpreter, who rendered them in English. Every question and answer was recorded by a Secretary, who sat by a square stool on which a wax candle and writing materials were placed. At last the audience was finished, and the exhausted ambassador was permitted to withdraw, reaching the *Tanayama* as the sun rose.

The ensuing negociations led to nothing, which is hardly surprising as the British Company had no intention whatever of assisting the King, their instructions to Pybus being first to obtain permission for a settlement in Ceylon, and secondly to ascertain what concessions could be extracted from him. The courtiers however proved as expert as Pybus; their King had asked for British assistance, and they wanted to know what the price would be; whereupon he produced a list of demands, which, if conceded, would give them the same privileges as the Hollanders enjoyed. After scrutinising them Pybus was asked whether, if they were conceded, the British would assist the King; as he was unable to give a definite answer, the matter ended there and he was sent back to his ship with all ceremony.

CHAPTER VIII.

In the meantime hostilities had not ceased. It was true that the Directors in Europe were earnestly anxious for peace and sent instructions accordingly, but Van Eck was not suited for carrying through a delicate negociation. The King on his side would not lightly surrender the territory he had occupied, and war became inevitable. Chilaw and Puttalam were attacked by sea and occupied without much trouble, and at the end of 1763 a large army started again by way of Sat Korale. With it there went a body of Moors, attracted by heavy pay and the promise of exemption from half their *Uliyam* or menial service to the Company.

Rumours about the Prince from Siam were renewed ; the sword of Dharmapala, from his tomb in the Colombo Church, was being brought with the invaders, the villagers were told ; Levuke Disava's son expressed his willingness to join them ; and there was little opposition to Visinavaya being occupied. Here the King had a store of rice, and Van Eck fixed his headquarters there, while the King's Adikar was reported to be near with a large force. This was all that van Eck achieved. The whole expedition was mismanaged. The season was badly chosen ; torrential rains rendered all advance through the forest belt a matter of extreme difficulty ; little provision had been made for the conveyance of baggage and ammunition, or for maintaining the line of communications. The vanguard did succeed in reaching the mountains, only to be driven down with heavy loss. It fell back on the main army, but the condition of things was so hopeless that on 1st March, 1764, it was decided to abandon the attempt and retreat to Colombo.

The result was mortifying to the Hollanders, and the Sinhalese were exultant over this repetition of their success. While the Company was busy with the unfamiliar task of fighting, foreign merchants took the opportunity to encroach on its trade, and forty four of their vessels had been allowed entry in the course of twelve months. It was impossible to leave the disgrace unavenged, and very reluctantly the Directors gave their consent to a new expedition being prepared. Recruits and coolies were collected in India ; all necessaries were brought over from Batavia ; the Vannias of Katukulam Pattu and Kottiar were won over to declare themselves on the side of the Company ; two hundred men occupied Venloos Bay against any assistance from outside ; and the native levies were carefully organised.

In 1762 a more liberal spirit had been shewn in dealing with the Roman Catholics, the legality of whose baptisms and right to marry before special Commissioners, were recognised. Consequently the priests exerted themselves to secure coolies for the expedition, which some of them accompanied in person. Don Joan Illangakon, the inheritor of another great name, had been banished to the Cape for suspected complicity in the disturbances at Galle, but after two years the Batavian Government directed his recall. His social position and wealth, which was believed to be immense, gave him much influence, which Van Eck was anxious to secure for the Company ; he therefore appointed him to be Field Maha Mudaliar, hoping that self-interest at least would keep him faithful. The expedition was not regarded without some degree of despondency, and Don Simon Dissanayaka, who was in charge of the Lascarins from Galle and Matara, made his Will on 2nd December, 1764, leaving his two swords and the gold chain he had received from the King, to his three infant sons.

At last everything was ready, and on Sunday the 13th of January, 1765, Van Eck left Colombo at the head of an army which included many Malays. A second army started by way of Puttalam, and by 12th February the advanced guard, consisting of 1,200 men including cavalry and artillery, drove the Sinhalese back and occupied Vauda. It was whispered about that the King had been betrayed by his Commanders ; and soon after the Adikar and some other courtiers came and had an interview with Van Eck, but this did not check his advance. The Galagedara Pass, which was defended by six batteries and a small fort of masonry, was occupied, and on 16th February the invading army, pushing forward rapidly, reached the King's garden at Katugastota on the banks of the Mahavili Ganga.

Repeated and urgent messages now arrived from the King, whose anxiety was that the invaders should not enter his Capital ; while Van Eck elated with the success wrote to Colombo that the Kingdom was conquered, and the defeated Sinhalese were compelled to beg for peace and receive it as a gift from the Company ; he therefore requested that a special service of prayer and thanksgiving to Almighty God for the favour shewn to the Company's arms might be held. Indeed the King was prepared to make the most liberal concessions, if only his capital were not desecrated by a hostile occupation ; unfortunately they were not accepted, since Johan Gerard Van Angelbeek, the Political Secretary, urged the importance of re-establishing the Company's badly tarnished prestige. Acting on his advice Van Eck insisted among other conditions that the King should pay an indemnity of two hundred thousand

pagodas, an annual tribute of elephants, and in addition lay down his crown and be crowned again as the Company's vassal.

Needless to say these terms were rejected, and the King prepared to continue the struggle. The Tooth Relic, guarded by its loyal attendants, had already been removed to a place of safety ; the King's brothers, with the Queens, their younger sister, and the most valuable treasures, disappeared into one of those mysterious hiding-places which were kept prepared for occasions of great emergency. The Company's officers who were prisoners could not be taken away nor could they be permitted to rejoin their friends ; the Captain of Matara was therefore put to death and two other officers allowed to shoot themselves. The King then withdrew to Hanguranketa, and the enemy crossed the river in spite of the advice of the military commander Colonel Feber.

Van Eck proceeded straight to the palace, where he established his headquarters. This handsome structure had been built in the last reign, and three days were spent in sacking it, for there was much booty, consisting of gold and silver, precious stones and rich fabrics, the wooden doors being covered with silver plates. The Company obtained little benefit from all this as it mainly went to enrich the officers. The Palace at Kundasala was next ransacked, and on the 24th nine hundred men were sent to Hanguranketa in pursuit of the King, only to see the Sinhalese disappearing over the mountains with laden elephants, for he had retreated to Badulla ; whereupon after sacking and burning the Palace, they started to return. But the Sinhalese were watching ; every passage and pathway was beset ; from every thicket arrows and bullets came flying from an unseen foe ; and soon the Hollanders were a disorderly rabble fleeing for their lives till half dead of fatigue and hunger and with heavy loss, they reached their headquarters. Van Eck, realising that he had committed a grievous mistake, sent three messages to the King, offering to accept the terms which he had proposed, but his letters were returned unread. In the meantime everything was done to devastate the country. Everything with life that bore the name of Sinhalese, was killed ; everything that could be set on fire was burnt ; and whatever could be destroyed was destroyed, religious buildings near the Capital being the special object of their greed ; fortunately the Bhikkhus headed by the Sangha Raja had escaped in time, with their books and relics. The Sinhalese would not be coerced ; not a symptom of surrender could be seen. Sickness, which in the past had so often proved a staunch ally, again came to their assistance, and on 4th March, Van Eck was glad to start back for Colombo. The Danta Dhatu was beyond his reach, but he took with him, as memorials of his Pyrrhic victory, the large silver *Karanduva*

which formed its outermost covering, and the gold howdah in which it was usual to convey it in procession. His retreat, for such it had become, was not carried out without much trouble, as the roads were infested by hostile bands, but fortunately Dassanayaka, the Mudaliyar of Hapitigam Korale, knew a secret track by which they escaped into Sat Korale.

Van Eck left behind a garrison of 1,800 men under Feber, pending the arrival of Marten Rein, once a tailor, who had been appointed Commandant. On the 28th Feber himself started for Colombo and on the road received the news that Van Eck, who had been very depressed since his return, had suddenly died ; many believed that he killed himself in despair.

To the Sinhalese the mystery of this unhappy end to a promising career was not difficult to understand. " There fell upon that most foolish leader of the enemy's hosts a fearful and terrible madness that was brought about by the power of the gods and also by the power of the King's Merit, so that he abandoned that fine city and left it ingloriously and was consumed by the fire of Death. And all the enemy's hosts who had come under the leadership of that foolish man became powerless and helpless and were overtaken by calamities. Some fell victims to disease, others suffered great distress from famine and sickness, some were slain in battle, and others betook themselves to mountain fastnesses. Thus were these enemies, the vilest of men, destroyed and put to flight."

Such is the stately narrative of the writer of the Mahavansa.

Matters were looking very grave; the Sinhalese appeared to be everywhere, and as Feber retired he withdrew the garrisons on the line of communication as far as Visinavaya, leaving Rein ill provisioned and isolated in the heart of the enemy's country, where it was not possible to communicate with him by letter. He was soon seriously ill, the rains were close at hand, and by 11th April the exasperated Sinhalese had reached Sitavaka, wreaking their vengeance on everyone and everything belonging to the Company.

Plans were prepared to relieve Rein by the ill-omened route through the Balane Pass, and pressing messages were sent to the aged Anthony Moyaart at Jafanapatnam, to come and take charge at Colombo, while the beleaguered garrison was being steadily killed off by disease and lack of food, for the Sinhalese realised that it was not necessary for them to incur any risk.

In August Iman Willem Falck arrived as Governor ; he was at the time only twenty nine years of age, having been born at Colombo in 1736,

while his mother, the daughter of a Governor of Malacca, was a native of Samarang. The young *casti* who, probably owing to his complexion, was nicknamed the Crow, had received an excellent education at Utrecht, and it was soon clear that he was one of the ablest Administrators the Company had yet sent to Ceylon. The difficult situation was taken firmly in hand, and on 10th August a conciliatory letter was sent to the Ministers, while simultaneously there was a display of military force at various points of the frontier, and rumours were started that the Company intended to dethrone the King, and had already chosen his successor. Efforts were also made to ensure the sympathy of the inhabitants of the coast, and in October Dassanayaka, who had probably saved Van Eck and his escort from destruction, was presented with a medal and chain as an expression of the Company's gratitude, and allowed four drummers as a mark of distinction.

Fortunately for his designs, the prolonged hostilities had seriously interrupted rice cultivation in the King's territory, and his subjects were on the verge of starvation. In December an Ambassador came from him, and Falck increased the pressure, searching out and destroying all the stores of salt and ravaging Tun, Satara and Sat Korales from end to end. The garrison of Trikuna Male advanced into the Bintenna and Major Duflo occupied Matale, where people were found to be dying of starvation. A palace which the King had there was burnt and 15,000 bags of saltpetre, patiently collected during many years from the scrapings of bat-infested caves, were destroyed.

The people were utterly exhausted, and among the Ministers themselves discontent was noticeable. Falck now adopting a conciliatory attitude, sent back the *Karanduva* and howdah, with the result that the scanty remnants of the garrison were allowed to return to Colombo, and five Commissioners headed by Dumbara Rala arrived to discuss terms of peace. The ragged condition of their attendants, who carefully saved everything they could out of the provisions supplied by the Company, proved how extreme was the pitch of want to which the Sinhalese were reduced. Van Angelbeek and Godfried Leonard de Coste, the able Disava of Colombo, conducted the negociations on behalf of the Company ; and after much wrangling the draft of a new Treaty was signed at 7-30 p.m on the 14th February, 1766.

By this agreement, which contained twenty five Articles, the Company was acknowledged as sovereign over the districts it had possessed previous to the war, and the King ceded to it the whole of his seaborde for the distance of a *gouva* inland, the Company undertaking to pay him the revenue collected therefrom. He was acknowledged paramount over

the rest of the Island, and all other territory occupied by the Company during the war was to be restored to him. The right to take as much salt as they liked from the Levayas, Puttalam, and Chilaw, was reserved for his subjects, while the Company obtained the privilege of peeling cinnamon from the whole of the Pata Rata belonging to the King, namely Sabaragamuva, Tun, Satara and Sat Korales, as far as Balane. The cinnamon found east of Balane was to be peeled by the King's subjects and sold at a fixed rate exclusively to the Company, which also obtained the monopoly of the trade in ivory, pepper, cardamoms, coffee, arecanuts and wax.

There was to be unrestricted trade between the subjects of the two contracting parties, with the right of entry into each others' territory for the purpose, the Company undertaking to procure for the King such commodities as he required from foreign countries. In return he agreed to supply the Company at Batticaloa and Trikuna Male with the timber they needed and to surrender all the Hollanders kept as prisoners by him, with the cannon captured at Hanvalla ; provision was also made for the restoration of runaway slaves, and the extradition of criminals.

The Company pledged itself to protect the King's dominions from external aggression, and to make no agreement prejudicial to him with any foreign power; while the King promised not to enter into any treaty with any other European power or Indian Prince, and to deliver up all Europeans coming within his territory. The humiliating ceremonial which the Company's ambassadors were compelled to go through when received in audience, was abolished, and for the future identical ceremonies were to be observed on either side at such receptions.

Till the last there was fear that the negociations might break down as the parties could not agree whose name should have precedence, but as a compromise each party's was placed first in its own copy. The Sinhalese pressed for the exchange of all captured guns and deserters, but the Hollanders refused, the more so as it was traitors from among the King's subjects who had acted as guides for their army. The Sinhalese translation of the treaty, prepared by Illangakon and the Predicant Philipsz, was examined word for word by the Commissioners and the copy to be signed by the King was engrossed on gilt parchment.

Falck confidentially suggested to the Commissioners that a clause should be inserted excluding all Malabars from office in Sinhale ; they expressed their delight at the suggestion, but said that the time was not yet ripe for that, significantly adding it would come soon, if they could rely on the Company's assistance. Falck also ascertained from them that a strong secret party at Court supported the pretensions of a certain

Prince of Kilakarai to the throne ; he was a son of the sister of Kundasala's Queens, who claimed that his mother too had been married to that King.

The day following the signing the Commissioners started back with de Coste, who was delegated to obtain the King's ratification. Duflo was ordered to withdraw from Matale, which he was glad to do, as every European with him was sick.

The King signed the treaty at Hanguranketa, de Coste's request that it should be countersigned by the Ministers being peremptorily refused ; his signature was all sufficient, and the treaty of Batticaloa which was examined, bore the signature of Raja Sinha alone. De Coste returned to Colombo with the perfected document and a tusked elephant which the King presented to him, and was followed by a letter in which the King, protesting that only his love of peace induced him to sign so inequitable an agreement, complained of the loss of his sea-coast and the refusal to return his guns and deserting subjects, and stated that he would make further representations to Batavia.

The Company's long-cherished policy was at last achieved, and the King cut off from all foreign intercourse. His Kingdom was now dependent for everything which could not be produced locally, on the humour of the Company's officials, and the trade of his subjects had to be regulated by its demands. But this success was not purchased cheap. Jacob Burnand, a Swiss who was one of the most distinguished servants of the Company, calculated that the war had cost ten million florins and some thousands of lives ; it had dislocated trade, retarded the progress of cultivation, and by rousing the hatred of the Court, rendered necessary the maintenance of an army which swallowed up a great part of the revenue. But for the moment the Company's prospects appeared to be bright, and it was able to settle the troublesome questions affecting South India which had long caused anxiety.

Even before Van Gollenesse's arrival there had been disagreements with the Thever, and the Company was forced to pull down its factory at Kilakarai ; but the quarrel, which was connected with the question of smuggling areca, was patched up about 1747, and the factory rebuilt. Eleven years later the Thever again attacked the factory and seized the Company's vessels on his coast and Schreuder's embarrassments were increased by these hostilities, which were however concluded in March 1759, by the restoration of what had been seized. Falck was fortunate enough to find a child ruling in Ramnad, and on 24th January, 1767, entered into an agreement with Thamotharam Pillai, the Thever's

Guardian and Regent, by which the Paumben passage was sold to the Company subject to the right of the Thever's people to its unrestricted use.

Two successful fisheries gave him a good chance for restoring order after the unrest of the war, the first step being to organise some kind of administration in the new districts. The delimitation of the boundary near Chilaw was begun and the line marked by stout posts bearing the Company's device, but progress was slow, which is not surprising, in view of his confidential instructions to the Company's Commissioners. He calculated the *gouva* at 7,300 geometrical paces, but this was to be so measured that under no circumstances should the Navatkadu peninsula with its salt pans and sea coast adapted for trading purposes to fall to the King, The survey was therefore to be made strictly from the high-water mark, but if even thus the King was likely to secure good salt pans, the Surveyors were told that they need not be too scrupulous. Consequently it became difficult to work in harmony with the King's Commissioner, the aged Disava of Sat Korale.

Orders were given to strengthen the wretched little fort at the town, and repair the irrigation bunds, for the reputation of its rice fields attracted dhonies from Kalutara and Velitara to Chilaw. The valuable pepper gardens belonging to the King were taken over on the Company's account. Udupenkarai, once the chief nest of the smugglers, was the fishing centre which supplied the bulk of Sinhale with salt fish, and good tobacco was produced to the north of Kaymel. At Chilaw the majority of the inhabitants were fishermen, who were divided into two rival factions, one by ancient custom supplying the chief official at the fort with river fish in the morning, and the other with sea fish in the evening. The distinction was maintained even in the *ranchu* of Lascarins raised among them.

In Puttalam there were few Sinhalese, the majority of the inhabitants being Moors, while the Mukkuvas, who had settled there before the Moors, ranked next in number, and were either nominal Christians, or Mohammedans. The chiefs of the district were Vannias, believed to be Mukkuvas by race, originally twelve in number, who formed a *Rata Sabhava* presided over by the Kanakapulle and Vidane appointed by the King's Disava. The office of Vannia was hereditary, and their lands were exempt from Rajakariya, while they were entitled to certain duties from the crops of the villagers. They had no special jurisdiction of their own, but were expected to inquire into and settle small disputes. Falck called upon these Vannias and the chief Moormen for a statement of the Custom of the country according to which the Landraad now established should

administer justice, crime being punished according to the Sinhalese practice.

The most important industry was making salt, chiefly for consumption in Sinhale, while fishing in the lagoon and the sea afforded a means of livelihood to many. Eight dhonies were employed on the former branch, and there were rules regulating the casting of nets and similar matters. Deep-sea fish was generally salted and dried, and the rest used for immediate consumption. A fair amount of cotton was produced and much rough cloth woven by the women. The Commandant at Puttalam received various perquisites from the *tavalam*, salt, arrack rent and judicial fines.

Batticalo included Korale Pattuva, the Mukkuva settlements and Panava, the principal native official being the Land Vidane, who collected the revenue and dealt with legal matters in the presence of the Pedies, as the Mukkuva headmen were called. These latter by a document of 1766 acknowledged the Company's sovereignty and undertook to pay a tythe of their paddy crop, perform the Uliyam service of catching elephants for three months in the year, and sell all their surplus produce to the Company. Great hopes were entertained of the possibilities of Batticalo, with its rich soil and industrious population, but Falck realised that, as Van Goens had pointed out in 1671, the fort should have been built, not on Puliyan divu, but further south, where there was a safe coast and deep water. The old fort of Kottiar was now of little value, while the increasing power of the British in India made the protection of the inner harbour of Trikuna Male a matter of urgency.

At Jaffna the weary task of strengthening the fort accoring to the plan of the engineer Brohier was still going on and though the *Uliam* service of the people was doubled, little progress was made ; for the Tamil man, working under compulsion, knew well how to produce the minimum of result in the maximum of time. There was also difficulty about lime and stone, though the layer of rock under the moat was blasted for the necessary material. The Commandeur benefited by the export of palmyra timber, and consequently there was anxiety about the effect of heavy fellings on the food supply of the people.

Schreuder had ordered the survey of the Uppu Aru with the hope of draining it and bringing it under cultivation but the scheme was abandoned as it was unfavourably reported on by the authorities consulted. At Colombo de Coste took up the improvement of Mutu raja vela, estimated to contain 6,000 acres, which was expected to ensure a sufficiency of rice for Colombo. Previous attempts to improve the

existing Sinhalese canal resulted in the inundation of the land by salt water, and to deal with this problem, flooding from the rivers, and the stagnation of water, he built a series of dams, sluices and channels, and was so far successful that in 1767 he announced the completion of the task. The Governor ordered the area to be divided into allotments, and appointed a special Head of the Cultivation, under whom were twelve Govi Vidanes, with silver-headed canes as a badge of office. The cost of the improvements was to be met by a second tythe on the crops, but in a few years the arrangements proved a failure, and the land was again abandoned.

A canal was opened to connect Negumbo with the Maha Oya, and in 1771 another from Kotte to the Moratuva Lake by way of Nedimale ; the latter appears to have been originally started under the Sinhalese Kings and continued by the Portuguese, who found a heavy outcrop of rock too much for their engineering skill. Van Imhoff restarted the work and its completion was celebrated by presenting a medal to Daniel Alwis Samarasinha, the energetic Mudaliyar of the Salpiti Korale, who was mainly responsible. Both canals had to be cleaned and deepened yearly by a number of service tenants.

The necessity of *hena* cultivation in Korales with less fertile rice fields was recognised, and this was permitted, though under stringent conditions. No *hena* could be cleared without special license, only granted after inspection by Commissioners assisted by Chalias, and it would be refused if six peelable cinnamon plants were found within the extent of a *morgen*. Wild cinnamon grew freely where a land was once sown, and therefore the same spot would not be cleared oftener then once in fifteen or twenty years. The cultivation of *Amu* was forbidden, as this grain was considered harmful to cinnamon. *Hena* crops paid a duty of a tenth to the Company.

The stringent regulations for protecting cinnamon growing on private lands, were a cause of bitter complaint. A Commission enquired into the matter, and permission was given to clear such lands, provided no cinnamon was damaged in the process. An increased supply had been expected as a result of the Treaty, but the King was indifferent about having it collected in his dominions for the small price that the Company paid and the supply rapidly decreased instead. Falck therefore tried cultivating the plant, and his first experiment, carried out in the Maradana of Colombo in 1769, was so successful that all headmen were directed to open similar gardens, a medal being promised to the most successful ; Samarasinha again distinguished himself and received the coveted honour, while Vikramasinha of Negumbo was presented with a silver sword and created Mudaliyar.

CHAPTER IX.

The Disava continued to fill a large space in the eye of the villager. The Disava of Colombo called himself Maha Disava of Sabaragamuva, the Seven Korales, and Low Country of Colombo, and was escorted on his circuits by a *ranchu* of Lascarins under an Arachchi, with its colours, five drums, a horn and a trumpet. He and the Commandeurs of Galle and Jaffna alone were entitled to have their drums beaten within the *Kadavatu* of Colombo, as far as Kayman's Gate on the one side and Kollupitiya on the other, and within the Castle he was allowed an escort of six Lascarins. The Company paid its Civil and military officers under three heads, namely, *Ration* or provisions according to rank, *Kostgeld*, or diet money, and *Gagie*, nett pay ; in addition there were many well-recognised perquisites. Thus the Disava held the *Gabadagama* of Mahara and was entitled to certain fines, a percentage on gratuities paid to some public servants, and free provisions on circuit. When the Commission of a new Governor was read to the public, he received an entertainment allowance of seventy-two bottles of sack, one barrel of beer, and 190 cans of " double arrack " from the Company's garden at Galkissa, with a proportion of sugar, beef, bacon, spices, and wheat. His duties were as multifarious as formerly ; for instance, no Mohammedan could marry without his licence, under pain of being put in chains.

The superior headmen who were under him, namely the Mudaliyars, Koralas, Maha Vidanes, and Mohundirams, were appointed under the hand of the Governor ; but as in Sinhalese times the petty headmen received their appointments from the Disava, who had authority to punish them even with a whip or rattan or by putting them in chains. This extreme power had to be exercised cautiously ; as the experienced de Coste pointed out in 1770, " He should take care not to abuse them in a passion in the presence of the people, much less beat them, for by such treatment they lose the respect of their inferiors, and the Disava himself is despised by the natives, who from nature abhor all passionate persons." As a rule he held office for a term of five years.

The Company had deliberately set itself to destroy the power of the Mudaliyars, and as a general rule they had fallen much from their original position, and their military responsibilities been largely replaced by administrative duties. They saw to the disposal of the Lascarins under their charge among the guard stations, the transport of timber felled

on account of the Company, and repair of school buildings. They also assisted at the elephant hunt in the Alut Kuru Korale, attended to cultivation in their districts, and provided *Adukku* and *pehidun* for ambassadors, and officials, including clergymen, on circuit. In time of war they supplied men for carrying ammunition. Some of them were men of wealth and great influence, and in consequence were jealously watched. A new register of Lascarins had been recently prepared and an effort made to reduce the number of these men, who had little work to do in time of peace. The duty of *Kodituvakku* bearers was abolished, and they were expected to carry the guns in future, which caused much discontent, carrying loads being considered a degrading task; but the sympathy with which the prejudices of the natives were once regarded was fast disappearing.

Their discontent was ascribed to a false pride, like their jealousy about the honours of the white cloth. The policy was to destroy all this kind of feeling, to tear the people away from their past, to denationalise them as much as possible; it might have been all right to uphold these customs so long as it was necessary to flatter and hoodwink them but that time was past, and they must now learn that their chief mission in life was to secure dividends for the Company. "Common sense directs" said de Coste, "that all these country pomps and grandeurs should be abolished, in order to remove from the natives the impression that the customs of the Sinhalese and their Kings are much more venerable than ours."

The manner in which natives dressed at their feasts was regulated by Placaat. People liable to perform duty to the Company in consequence of their caste often adopted European dress and passed as Burghers to escape the liability, and it was therefore enacted that no one would be exempted unless he produced a Burgher Act, written on a stamped paper. Women of the seven highest castes alone were entitled to wear jackets; they could also freely adorn themselves with jewels, but those serving *Govigama* people were expected to be restrained in their use, to avoid giving offence.

The *Nanayakkara* and *Nambukara Appuhamis* of the *Govigama* caste ranked as noble, while the *Safframado Appuhamis*, generally nominated by the Mudaliyars, mounted guard at the Governor's and the Disava's *Vasala*, and bore the canopy under which ambassadors went in procession. The fisher people of Negombo and Kalutara were liable to the duty of loading and unloading vessels, and those of Moratuva and Panadura were attached to the carpenters' and cartwrights' establishments. The village blacksmith, barber, and washerman could cause as much annoy-

ance to the *Appuhami* by refusing to perform their essential services, as they still do to the Vellala of Jaffna. Potters from places so remote as the Hapitigam Korale worked at the Company's brick kiln near Kelaniya, but were paid for their labour.

In Colombo there were licensed cockpits, where the birds fought with metal spurs ; the sport was much in favour with the Malays, with their strong instinct for gambling ; in the rural districts people were allowed, on occasions of festivity, to have cockpits in their own gardens. As robberies and murders were increasing a Placaat was passed to the effect that trespassers found after nightfall within enclosed land were liable to be shot dead. The duties of undertakers at funerals, the manner of summoning relatives on such occasions, and the number of permissible mourning cloaks and hat bands were as much a matter of regulation, as the question of whether a barber's daughter might or might not wear stockings when she got married. After 1769 the sale of firearms and ammunition was placed under severe restrictions.

In matters of religion a more tolerant attitude, the result in part of indifference and in part of necessity, had begun to appear, and there was no longer any interference with Buddhist worship at Kelaniya, Attanagalla and Varana. Mulgirigala still retained its ancient sanctity, and was visited by Falck more than once. He was broadminded enough to see the necessity of understanding the religious views of the people and he invited the Bhikkhus to enlighten him on the subject. In the case of the Muslims religion and law are closely connected, and Falck had a statement prepared of the customs of the Moors with regard to inheritance, and directed that they should be observed as law. As for the Roman Catholics, in view of the need to destroy the Goanese influence he agreed that Protestant natives should receive the preference in appointments to office. This really made little difference, for most of the chiefs were secretly Buddhists, while the caste distinctions observed by those who professed Christianity, made them insist on separate places of worship being provided for themselves.

In the North the Tamils were not worried any longer for being Hindus, provided they did not openly maintain temples or hold religious processions. An account of the condition of things among them has been left by Johannes Christophel Wolfs, the son of a humble German tradesman of Mecklenburg who made his way into Ceylon in 1749 as a youth of nineteen years. He remained in the country for nearly twenty years more, for the greater part in Jaffnapatnam, where his perseverance, discretion, and capacity for bearing without a murmur the kicks and cuffings of his superiors, secured him rapid promotion in the service of the Com-

pany. In 1782, after his return to Europe he published in German an account of his experiences.

He regarded with sympathy the Tamils, at whose hands he had received much simple kindness in his days of obscurity, and whose language he strove to learn ; indeed he was one of the few Europeans who understood the people sufficiently to have a good word to say for them. They still dressed in the primitive style of their ancestors, both men and women as a rule being bare above the waist, though people of quality would throw a piece of linen over their shoulder. The long distended ear-lobes, which had nearly disappeared among the Sinhalese, were sedulously cultivated, and caste distinctions rigidly maintained. The petty family vanity characteristic of small and isolated communities and still so marked a feature of Tamil life, was turned by the Company to good advantage. The equivalent of a patent of nobility, signified by the tying of a silver *nalalpata* and the conferring of the title of Don, could be purchased from it at a moderate sum, which Wolfs declares finally sank as low as ten rix dollars ; every Vellala who could afford the money got himself ennobled, and this gave the opportunity to the Brahmins, their rivals, to expose their pretensions to public ridicule. The result was much quarrelling and litigation.

The father was the autocrat of his family ; the marriage arrangements which he made for his son had to be acquiesced in without question, under risk of disinheritance. To secure a husband for a daughter or a sister was the first duty of a citizen, and with that object often the bulk of the property would be given to the daughters by way of dowry. Such dowry could not be touched for the father's debts, which then fell on the sons, though impatience was being displayed at what was considered an inequitable rule. Large powers of adoption were vested in the head of a family.

From the missionary's point of view the Tamils were frankly recognised as being merely baptised heathen. The clergyman visited the parishes once a year, but only to marry, baptise, and check the school registers while most of the Churches were abandoned or used as cattle stalls. There was the same desire for schooling as still distinguishes the Tamil boy, and his powers of memory and mastery over figures were as much remarked by Wolfs, as the calfless legs of the men. The schoolmasters acted as Notaries, drawing up all formal deeds, and preserving copies thereof. The Brahmins burnt their dead and buried the ashes in a pot, while other Tamils interred the bodies in shallow graves in the Churchyards, without coffins and merely wrapped in a sheet.

With the conclusion of peace, the King returned to his Capital, generously rewarding those who had served him faithfully during the war and expelling from many districts the treacherous Moors, who had repaid his country's hospitality by assisting the enemy. He next sent four ambassadors, including Kapuvatta and the brave Palingupana, to Batavia to press his objections to the treaty ; they were given a very ceremonious reception, but could obtain no modification of the terms. Both Kapuvatta and Palingupana died on the return journey, and a diamond presented by the Dutch to the former was submitted to the King, who ordered it to be set on the forehead of the Bird ornament which was being prepared as an offering to the Tooth Relic, so that Kapuvatta might reap the Merit thereof.

He now turned with enthusiasm to the encouragement of religion. For three years the Tooth Relic had remained concealed within the cave at Kevulgama, in charge of Rambukvelle Unnanse and its faithful hereditary attendants. And now the *Karanduva* which the enemy's touch had defiled, was gilded with refined gold and set with gems, the whole city cleaned and purified, and with impressive solemnity and all the pomp which the kingdom could display, the Relic was brought back on the King's head and installed within its shrine in the new Maligava which he built by the side of his Palace.

His devotion was shown by his many offerings of what were deemed fit to give pleasure to the mind and add dignity to worship ; they included villages, male and female attendants, horses and elephants, gold, silver and precious stones, dainty food, ripe fruit and fragrant flowers. He did not desire that the happiness and Merit of adoring the Relic should be stinted or confined to a few ; more than once the mystery which surrounded it was brushed aside and he exposed it to the public gaze, held aloft on its lotus of gold in his own hand.

Gangarama Viharaya which he had built and Van Eck destroyed, was restored : a new Viharaya was erected at Kundasala; Ridi Viharaya founded by Dutugemunu was rebuilt ; and throughout the length and breadth not only of his own Kingdom but also of the whole of the Island, his zeal made itself felt.

This caused no little anxiety to the Company, for all the *Nayaka* or Chief Theros, within its territory went to Court to receive their appointments as such from the King, and consequently were his warm supporters. Their influence over the most powerful Mudaliyars was known to be great, and therefore it was found necessary to keep a strict watch over the latter, while cultivating the good-will of the former.

The school which the Sangha Raja had gathered round him zealously pursued the study of Pali, and many books dealing with the subject were produced. Attaragama Bandara, the best known of his lay pupils, is still quoted as an authority. Tibbatuvava was entrusted by the King with the task of collating the Sinhalese versions of the *Mahavansa* with a copy from Siam, and bringing the narrative up to date from the Court records. Accounts were compiled of the various missions sent to Siam, and a *Katikavata* or Code of Disciplinary Rules prepared for the guidance of the Sangha. Moratota, one of the Sangha Raja's pupils, was appointed Tutor to the King's brother, who afterwards mounted the Throne as Raja Adhiraja Sinha ; the royal student proved an apt pupil and obtained much applause by his work, the *Asadrisa Jatakaya*. The Sangha Raja died in 1778 ; a small *dagaba* at Ampitiya enshrines his ashes, and four years later Munkotuve Rala completed the *Sangharaja Vata*, in which at Moratota's request, he recorded the events of his life in verse. The only other literary figure of interest at Court was Dunuvila Gajanayaka Nilame, who wrote some clever erotic verse, and the *Dunuvila Hatane*.

This revival of literature in Sinhale was accompanied by a similar and more fruitful movement in the South, under the inspiration of Sitinamaluve Dammajoti of Vehalla, the author of a commentary on the *Balavatara*. Matara still contained families like the Ekanayakas, Tennekons and Illangakons, willing to play the part of the generous Maecenas; some of their members were themselves no mean scholars, being educated at home by Bhikkhus through whom the literary influence of the Sangha Raja made itself felt. Tilakaratna Mudaliyar, grandson of the renegade Punchi Appuhami, compiled a medical work, the *Bhesajja Nidana*, and in 1768 Disanayaka Mudaliyar wrote his *Makaraddaja*.

Poetical works based on the Jataka stories were produced by Bhikkhus, like Dhammananda of Kirambe, showing exceptional polish and technical skill, but suffering from a defect which runs through all later Sinhalese art. The poet felt himself constrained to follow certain venerable conventions, and sacrificed originality in displaying scholarship, the test of good poetry being not only whether it was marked by those graces which are considered such in all languages, but also whether those were expressed in forms dictated by ancient canons, which no one had the courage to set at defiance.

In their poetry, while rich imagery, choice language and melody of sound were keenly appreciated and artistically used, there were other ornaments appealing to the curious which received perhaps an exaggerated degree of admiration. The best exponent of these was Samarajiva Pattayame Lekama, a dissipated genius, whose amatory poems published

in 1768 brought him fame. Two years later Samarasekera of Katuvana produced the *Kav Mini Maldama*, a poem based on a Jataka story, which takes rank amongst the first order of later poetry. The invocation to Sarasvati, Patroness of the Arts, which opened the poem, so offended Illangakon, to whom the poet presented a copy, that he curtly referred the writer to the goddess for his expected reward. Samarajiva hastened to take advantage of the Maha Mudaliyar's displeasure by offering to him his *Kav Mini Kondala*, also based on a Jataka story and sparkling with brilliant *jeux d' esprit*. For instance, his alliterations consist not only of letters, but syllables, words, and even of entire lines, as when a verse is formed of the same line repeated four times, each repetition bearing a different meaning. Verse after verse rhymes not only at the end of the lines but also at the middle. In certain couplets the second half of the line is formed by writing the first half backwards. The works of the Pattayame Lekama are a store-house of these ingenious devices.

The *Kav Mutu Hara* of Maniratna of Salialla, written in 1784 as a memorial to a child of the Ekanayaka family, also is based on a Jataka story and belongs to the best work of the period. Barana Ganitaya, who wrote the *Nilakobo Sandesaya*, yet another of that group of poems which followed on the lines of the *Mega Dhuta ;* and Gajaman Nona, the first poetess among the Sinhalese, complete the list of the chief writers of the Matara school in the eighteenth century.

Besides the devices mentioned above, metrical puzzles were much in favour. These were formed by arranging letters in diagrams which could be read in various directions, perhaps the most famous being the *Baranama Gabasaka*, of Karatota Dhammarama Unnanse of Veragampita. who was consulted by Governor Falck for information on Buddhism, and was also considered an authority on astronomy. It consisted of a Diagram which when read in the four directions formed sixteen verses in praise of the Buddha ; this was presented in 1786 to Raja Adhiraja Sinha, who rewarded the ingenious author with the gift of the vast desolation of Pallebedde gama in Atakalan Korale.

The yearly embassies to the Court continued, but without the humiliating antics to which Pybus had been subjected ; and in 1769 a Company's ship conveyed the King's fourth Queen from India. In the meantime the powerful Navab of the Carnatic, who had reduced the Thever and was supported by the British, was advancing a claim to a share in the Pearl Fishery, and the Company entered into long haggling negociations, without in any way persuading him to abate his demands. Probably the King received secret encouragement from the same quarter, for the British still had their eyes fixed on the Island ; and he appears to

have sent an embassy to Tanjore in 1772. At any rate in 1775 he demanded a share of the Fishery, and repeated this the next year, with a further request for the restoration of a portion of the coast. Both demands were sharply refused.

The Company had not kept its agreement to allow the Sinhalese free access to the salt pans, in a liberal spirit. For two hundred years control of the salt supply had been the aim of the Europeans on the coast, and the Company having secured it was determined to make the most of it. The Sinhalese were not permitted to take away more than was sufficient for current needs, for fear of their storing it up in their country, and the bulk of the salt which was formed used to be thrown back into the sea. Further the revenue from the ceded districts was never paid to the King, as provided for in the treaty.

In the meantime war broke out between England and her American Colonies, which in February 1778 entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with France. They were soon joined by Spain, and a quarrel with the Netherlands on the question of the right of search threw the fleet of the latter into the scale against England. The struggle spread to India, and the Company, which under its constitution was responsible for the protection of its territory, hired three regiments of mercenaries from Europe at a ruinous rate, but too late, and its factories in the Southern coast were soon captured. In November, 1781, Nagapatnam fell, and then the British fleet under Sir Edward Hughes proceeded to Trikuna Male, where it arrived on 4th January, 1782. The importance of fortifying this harbour had long been pressed on the Company, which could never bring itself to sanction the necessary expenditure; the result was that it was captured without trouble, and Fort Ostenberg, with its garrison of four hundred men, surrendered in a couple of days.

The British plan was to capture Colombo as soon as possible, and by cutting off the Company's cinnamon trade, to compel it to surrender all its territory. If the weather did not permit of vessels sailing to Colombo, they intended to occupy Jaffna, the second place of importance. It was expected that the King would gladly assist in the hope of getting back what he lost in 1766, and Hugh Boyd, a brilliant but impecunious Irishman, at one time believed to be the author of the Letters of Junius, who had come out as second Secretary to Lord Macartney, the new Governor of Madras, accompanied the fleet as Ambassador to him. On 5th February Boyd set out from Trikuna Male with a long train of followers, but before that date the King had died.

Kirti Sri who was fond of horses, and proud of his skill in managing them, was riding through the streets of his Capital on a spirited animal

presented to him by the Hollanders when he met with a serious accident which after some months of suffering, ended fatally. As he left no children by his *Ran doli*, he was succeeded on the throne by his younger brother with the name of Raja Adhiraja Sinha.

Boyd's mission ended in failure ; the new King after much persuasion agreed to supply the British with provisions, but the Ministers, after their experience with Pybus, refused to discuss the question of a treaty of alliance, or of hostilities against the Company, save with an ambassador authorised by the King of England himself ; and Boyd, finding that nothing was to be gained by delay, started back for his ship. In the meantime Hughes, who had returned to Madras for provisions leaving behind a garrison, had been intercepted by the French fleet under Admiral Suffren, and on the 15th February a long but indecisive battle was fought. By the 26th of March Boyd was at Trikuna Male, where the garrison had been strengthened ; as his ship had already left he started in a small vessel which he chartered, but had the misfortune to fall into the hands of Suffren, who on 12th April again engaged the British fleet in the Bay. Both sides suffered severely, the British having 567 casualties, and then the French withdrew.

The British however received little help from the King and were in such difficulties about provisions that the Sepoys could hardly be kept from deserting. Nevertheless their vessels were hovering about the neighbourhood of Manar and making the western road dangerous ; the Company anticipating a landing at Chilaw, where the fort was in ruins, sent a garrison there and arranged beacon lights all along the coast as far as Colombo, to give notice of their approach.

At Colombo additions to the badly dilapidated fortifications were commenced under the supervision of Rymers, an ex-surveyor, but these, it was suggested, were merely a pretext for robbing the Company. The suggestion was not improbable ; at any rate discipline among the military was singularly lax. The forts at Negumbo and Puttalam were in a ruinous condition, the garrisons, chiefly Tupasses and Malays, being permitted to quarter themselves among the villagers ; while the main portion of the Puttalam fort was found occupied by a French woman and her daughter.

On 27th August, Suffren, who had been refitting at Galle and Batticaloa, appeared unexpectedly before Trikuna Male and proceeded to land men and raise batteries. In three days the fort surrendered, and the garrison was allowed to return to Madras. This did not improve their condition much, for Suffren with his headquarters at this harbour was able to blockade Madras till the inhabitants suffered

from all the horrors of famine. The British plans had completely miscarried, and it was fortunate for the Hollanders that it was so. The Company's servants were not to be trusted, and Raket, the Commandeur at Jaffnapatnam, was in correspondence with the enemy; indeed the terms of surrender were ready in his hands, and only the failure of the British to arrive saved the place for the Hollanders for a few years longer. Trikuna Male was finally restored to the Company in 1784, along with the rest of its dismantled factories in India.

Since 1661 the Company had interfered little with the Vanni, and its chieftains continued to pay their tribute of elephants with more or less regularity. It was divided into two portions, supervised by Jaffna and Trikuna Male respectively, the first containing about 600 hamlets with from three to six huts each; the total population was estimated at 18,000 souls. It had three temples with traditional claims to sanctity, but the most striking feature of the religion of the inhabitants was the offering places under trees, of which there were said to be thousands. Some Roman Catholic Churches and prayer houses also existed, the bulk of the Christians being members of the Fisher caste, though not engaged in fishing as a profession. In Parangi Chetti Kulam the numerous descendants of the Portuguese could be distinguished by their colour, features and stature, but all wore the dress of the country.

The district was in a miserably backward condition. The people lived in straw-thatched huts shaped like an umbrella, and so hidden in the forest as not to be visible at a distance of thirty yards. The quantity of rice produced was barely sufficient to meet the local demand, because of the difficulty of protecting crops from wild beasts; but cattle were abundant, and their milk formed an important part of the people's food. There was much *hena* cultivation, the produce with the *Ghi* formed from the butter being exchanged for cloth, iron and copper brought by pedlars from Jaffna. In the total absence of wells, drinking water was obtained from waterholes where the buffaloes used to congregate. A coarse spirit distilled from palmyra jaggery was used at festivals. Both sexes wore rings in their ears; as among the Sinhalese, the chief part of the marriage ceremony consisted in the groom presenting to the bride a cloth and chain, while the presence of the barber and washerman was essential. The bride's dower was usually a cow buffalo, a copper plate to eat from, a chopper, and sometimes a piece of land. On the occurrence of a death, the house would be abandoned, and the body buried in a shallow grave, from which it was soon exhumed by the wild beasts. There was no system of law worth speaking of, and the Vanniyas did pretty much what they liked; no one ventured to wear a gold ornament for fear of being

robbed by them. They were entitled to fees for permitting the use of the white cloth, and in order to secure a divorce. There was an establishment of Adikars, Kanganis and Udayars subordinate to them.

The Company found these chieftains getting more and more independent and defiant in their attitude, and decided to bring them under its direct administration. Don Gaspar Nalla Mapane was removed from the important district of Panangamam, and his sister's daughters Nalla Nachchi and Chinna Nachchi were in 1784 directed to surrender their divisions to Lieutenant Nagel and to share Panangamam between them. The inhabitants rose up in angry protest, killed a petty official, occupied the paths leading from Jaffna to Trikuna Male, and drove away the Company's servants and wood cutters, while the two ladies escaped to Chetti kulam. They then barricaded themselves in their villages, and attacked Nagel who with a Company of Sepoys was able to hold his own till reinforcements increased his force to 800 men. In June, 1785, he occupied Panangamam ; the rebels were already exhausted, and there were dissensions among the leaders ; an amnesty was therefore proclaimed, and after some negociations everything was settled by 22 July. Chinna Nachchi fled to the King but was later allowed to return to Mullaitivoe, while Nalla Nachchi and her husband were pardoned, and finally settled in Jaffna. The Vanni was handed over to Nagel to be administered subject to the payment of a yearly tribute in rice ; he was allowed to maintain a small military force for Police purposes, and his administration of this desolate region was considered a success ; among other matters he established a Landraad, which dealt with civil cases in accordance with the Thesavalamai of Jaffna.

On 5th February, 1785, Falck died at his country residence at Malvatta near Nagalagama after a short illness, and two days later Wilhelm Jacob Van der Graaf, the able Commandeur of Galle, took charge of the administration. The following month the aged Abayasinha of Galle was appointed Maha Mudaliyar ; as Mudaliyar of the Galle Guard he had come into prominence during the troublous times of Schreuder, who gratefully recorded his obligations to him on a plate of gold ; another medal and chain were now presented to him, and till his death in 1794 he continued to exercise much influence over the Governor. Through his hands passed all the correspondence with the Ministers, for the recent trouble with the British had created a difficult situation. The Court successfully insisted on the humiliating ceremonies abolished in 1766 being resumed by ambasadors, and pressed for the restoration of the western coast. The latter the Company would not surrender, and the relations between the parties grew more and more strained.

The Navab's attitude over the Pearl Fishery increased the Governor's difficulties, for an abortive treaty entered into with his Agent in 1785, was repudiated by him with the result that no fishery had been held since 1767. Fortunately the Governor of Madras, Sir Archibald Campbell, a personal friend of Van der Graaf, exerted his influence with such good effect, that on 7th July, 1788 a Treaty was entered into at Colombo between the Governor and the Navab's Agent James Buchanan, by which the Company ceded to the Navab half the Tutucorin Fishery and the right to thirty six boats in the Ceylon Fishery. Moreover his representative at the Fishery was allowed to hoist his own flag and to maintain a separate military guard, so long as he complied with the fishery regulations of the Company. The concessions were very heavy, but the Company was glad to arrive at a settlement.

In the meantime the situation in Europe had changed in a remarkable fashion. On 15th April, 1788, a Treaty was entered into at The Hague by which the British undertook to assist the Settlements belonging to the United Provinces in case of hostilities with France, and in September, 1789 Lord Cornwallis wrote from Fort William to assure Van der Graaf, of his anxiety effectively to carry out this promise ; the friendly feeling thus brought about was utilised by Van der Graaf to obtain rice, as Ceylon again was suffering from a shortage. The following year Lord Cornwallis in turn appealed to the Governor for help against Tippu Sultan who had attacked the Travancore Raja, an ally of the British, and also begged him to keep a careful eye on the proceedings of the French. Negociations had been proceeding between these last and the King, who applied to them for protection against the Company. The people of the Chilaw District, which was administered from Colombo, were restless ; they insisted on nominating their own chief, and Van der Graaf was obliged to acquiesce, for opposition only led to rioting and to the inhabitants fleeing to the King. There were outbreaks in the Colombo Disava, and even the Girivayas were in a state of turmoil.

It was realised that the Sinhalese in the Company's territory had the utmost respect for the King's orders and that the presence of his armed forces was regarded with terror. The Lascarins sent to guard the salt pans in the west fraternised with the King's men and sold their ammunition to them. The Company was worried by repeated outbreaks of smallpox which caused much loss of life, Sinhale being fortunately saved from infection by the forests which guarded its frontiers. Besides the shortage of rice, the demand for fresh meat to feed the increased military forces was so great, that the price of animals brought from the Munnesseram District was nearly doubled.

At last the King closed his *Kadavatu*, and it was feared that hostilities could not be avoided much longer. Van der Graaf appears to have entered into a treasonable correspondence with Pilima Talauva, son of Kirti Sri Raja Sinha's Adikar, now a Disava. The details are obscure, but he was persuaded that he could seize Sabaragamuva, and in June, 1791, Colonel de Meuron with his regiment of Swiss mercenaries in the Company's service and a large body of Hollanders, Malays, and Lascarins, entered the Province. Pilima Talauva was expected to join him, but not a soul was to be seen in the country, and not a morsel of food could be obtained. De Meuron, after reaching Kendangomuva, found himself cut off in the midst of a morass, exposed for three days to the torrential rains for which the District is well known. There was nothing to be done but to beat an immediate retreat to Sitavaka, at the same time sending word to Van der Graaf, who was awaiting developments at Hanvalla, for assistance; only an accident, it was said, saved the force from destruction.

CHAPTER X.

Van der Graaf retaliated by cutting off the supply of salt to the King's subjects, and soon the unhappy Sinhalese were compelled to have recourse to pot ash instead ; the King was on the verge of applying for terms but the Council at Batavia, whose anxieties about the Company's finances had been greatly increased by the intrusion of Danish and American vessels within Eastern waters, distracted at the threatening condition of affairs and worried over its relations with the Raja of Cochin, a British ally, sent definite instructions in 1792, that whatever happened war with the King was to be avoided. The embargo on salt was withdrawn, and the King on his side opened his *Kadavatu* ; but though the peeling season was near, Van der Graaf was unwilling to send the embassy. The Ministers when approached, made it clear that permission would not be granted without it, and in 1793 the Company had to content itself with the produce of its own territory.

This was the less difficult owing to the gratifying results which had attended its attempts to cultivate cinnamon. The natives had taken kindly to the work, and the number of gardens planted for the Company increased so rapidly, that serious difficulty was encountered in keeping them free from weeds. Abayasinha thereupon suggested that the Chalias should be placed in charge of allotments, from the produce of which they could pay their duty ; this was adopted by the Council in 1791, and proved a brilliant success. Andris Mendis and Dines de Zoysa, Mudaliyar and Maha Vidane respectively of the Maha badda, were most helpful, and received warm commendations from the Governor ; the former planted Everiyavatta and the latter Kadirana, and there was good reason to expect that soon the Company would be independent of the supply from Sinhale. Others besides the members of the caste interested themselves in the work ; for instance the Second Maha Mudaliyar, Vijayasekara Abayaratna, nephew of Lienderan de Saram, made a large plantation at Dematagoda, and grew pepper and coffee in the Vidaneships of Kelaniya and Ambatale. The Company showed its gratitude to all these by presenting them with gold chains and medals.

A similar reward was given by Falck to Bandaranayaka, Mudaliyar of the Siyane Korale, whose great-grandfather Mohotti Appuhami had been specially recommended by Van Goens in 1663 to the consideration of his successor. Bandaranayaka planted Siyambalape, and came into pro-

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minence again during the recent troubles with the Court ; and Van der Graaf conferred on him at the same time as on Abayaratna, a second Medal and the title of Maha Mudaliyar.

The Sinhalese had the instinct natural to men whose knowledge did not extend much beyond their villages ; their craving for such tokens of distinction was inordinate, even though the Fountain of Honour was no longer a semi-divine King, but a Merchant on a monthly salary and allowances. A gold *Sanhas* was almost unknown, and something of its glamour attached itself to the Medal, which had the further attraction that it could be worn about the person, and the Company well understood how to take advantage of this amiable weakness, which cost it little. It is strange to think that in spite of the spread of Western ideas and manners, this craving still maintains so firm a hold, that instances are not unknown of private individuals presenting such marks of their esteem to their friends, who even make a display of them at public functions.

Cultivation was encouraged in the South by inserting in the appointments of Mudaliyars a condition that they must plant a specified extent within a stated time. In Colombo the enthusiasm over cinnamon adversely affected the supply of labour for the cultivation of rice. An embankment however was raised to protect the fields at Grandpass, the cost being charged to the owner's benefitted, and a dam was planned from Ambatale to Panadura. Overbeek in 1742 had proposed another dam at Biagama and a Canal in the Pasdun Korale.

The question of draining Diviture was raised by Pielat, but the Batavian authorities were unwilling to incur the expense ; if however the inhabitants would undertake it at their own cost, they promised them such recognition as they merited. In spite of this discouraging attitude some progress was made with the work, and a plan for draining that village and Gangaboda Pattu by giving the Gin Ganga a fresh outlet near Baddegama into the Hikkaduva Lake was under consideration. In order to reclaim the lowlying and marshy land, estimated at a thousand *amunam*, between Polatu Oya and Matara, canals were opened and dams erected at great expense, but the difficulties encountered at Mutu Raja Vela again presented themselves, and it was found not to be possible to exclude the salt.

The Girivayas were benefitted by leading down into their rich fields the waters of Nivala Ganga, and this also served to protect the lower reaches of the river from the disastrous floods which are the feature of tropical rivers. In 1784 Burnand was placed in charge of Batticaloa with a population estimated at 40,000 souls which originally was under a Vannia, who after a rebellion had been replaced by a Disava of the

King. The bulk of the district was divided among seven Mukkuva chiefs named *Pedies*, who claimed under a *Sanhas* and maintained their peculiar laws, by which a man's heirs were the sons of his sister or of his sister's daughter. The seven Mukkuva families claimed all the forest in the district, but in 1792 these were declared to belong to the Company except where a title from the Disava, followed by long possession, could be proved. It was a Mukkuva custom not to sell lands to other castes or even outside their own families ; castes lower than their own could not possess fields, and even the houses and gardens of such were regarded as the property of the Pedie in whose district they were situated. Burnand opened a canal at Batticaloa, which proved so successful that the paddy revenue increased four-fold, and a large extent of coconut land was rendered available for cultivation ; but the rest of the east was badly neglected, for the Company could not bring itself to spend the money required for irrigation.

A report was prepared in 1793 on Maha Sen's tank of Gantalava, which even in its ruined state could irrigate three thousand *parrahs*, though the supply of water was uncertain. Tampalakamam had been occupied in 1766 and contained a fairly large Tamil population, who regarded the tank with religious awe. The district was neglected, and the Company's half-hearted attempts at improvement were interrupted by the occupation of the neighbourhood first by the British and then by the French. Some armed Kaffirs who escaped from the latter for a long time pillaged and murdered through the District, and whole villages were abandoned at the approach of these reputed black cannibals. Disease was rife ; smallpox raged from time to time, and the only remedy was to abandon the infected villages, for there was no medical provision. The headmen who had helped to bring the District under the Company, were left to oppress the people unchecked ; they levied heavy fines till no one ventured to display any signs of wealth, and while exacting labour from the villager without any reference to the needs of his cultivation, they gave little help in organising the combined effort essential in dealing with tracts of field in the forest. The villager generally loaded with debt, was not secure even in the tenure of his lands ; for the headmen would take them from one and give them to another according to their own fancy.

The rich plains of Karachchi had been the subject of abortive plans since Overbeek's time and Van Goens himself had drawn attention to Kattu karai. Nothing was done till Falck attempted to have the Tank repaired by the Tamils of Jaffna who were subject to *Uliyam*, but they soon ran away and the work was abandoned. Van der Graaf had a fresh

survey made, and proposed developing the tank lands by a private Company, but on instructions from Batavia in 1792 the scheme was abandoned, and twenty years later a score of villages still occupied the tank bed.

The natural line of water communication available on the western coast was blocked for some miles between Kaymel and Maravila, goods being transhipped by coolies at great expense ; in the case of the Company this was done free of charge by the Paduvo as their Rajakariya. A proposal in 1790 to remove the obstruction was dropped, owing to the troubles with the King.

Chilaw was in a satisfactory condition ; the rice fields were flourishing, valuable gardens of pepper, coffee, and coconut had been opened ; teak was planted in various parts ; and the manioc, introduced by Van der Graaf through the help of a Catholic Priest, increased the food supply of the inhabitants.

In 1778 the Company ceased to buy arecanut direct from the producer at a price which was fixed from time to time, and threw the field open to middle men, retaining the right of pre-emption. It sold in turn at a profit of nearly 200 per cent. and during Van der Graaf's term of office the nett revenue from areca averaged 79,000 florins a year. The King's subjects too were reaping the advantage of higher prices from the Coast merchants, and Van der Graaf was anxious to get that traffic once again under the Company's control.

As for elephants, in view of the expenditure involved of labour which could be more advantageously employed in other ways, he considered the profits of the Hunt to be more imaginary than real ; and complications with the British had interfered seriously with their capture in the North. His idea was to purchase them from private captors in the Vanni and Batticaloa and sell them outside, and a contract based on this was entered into with Vaitilingam Chetty, the wealthy renter of Jaffna, who for several years farmed the Chank fishery. The Matara Hunt, he thought, should be limited to the object of keeping down the herds when they began to prove a nuisance to the inhabitants. The publication of Buffon's Natural History led to an interesting correspondence with experienced natives in the South regarding the habits and life history of the animal. A detailed report of the tricks performed in 1786 by a trained tusker at the King's Palace for the diversion of the Company's Ambassadors, has been preserved.

Since 1758 the paddy duty had been collected on account of the Company direct, but as this led to loss through the dishonesty of

the Commissioners who appraised the crops, Van der Graaf once again farmed it out.

Much interest was taken in growing and manufacturing cotton, and in 1793 a certain John Vervyk, who claimed to have experience in South India, put forward a scheme for its development at Jaffna; he demanded ten per cent. of the profits, and a free hand in dealing with the labour force whenever he was obliged "to act in earnest with them for bad conduct." Weavers were brought and settled at Chilaw, Colombo and Matara, and a large amount of cloth was made at Batticaloa, Manar and Puttalam, but the bulk of the cotton had to be obtained from the Sat Korale and Nuwara Kalaviya. A sugar plantation was opened at Kalutara, and Colonel de Meuron made both sugar and rum between Colombo and Galkissa.

Although Van der Graaf reduced the number of mercenary regiments to two, the increased expenditure continued to be a grave handicap to progress: while the Directors pressed for revenue from every conceivable source, expenditure always exceeded income, and the deficit had to be made good from the profits of the cinnamon trade in Europe, which were earmarked for dividends.

The unreliability of the Civil Service aggravated the situation; the evils common in a Colony abounded, and Ceylon was treated as a convenient spot where blockheads, libertines, and bankrupts, who had influence with the Directorate, could easily be dumped. According to Sinhalese custom a headman on appointment paid a *bulat surulla* to the Mudaliyar who secured him the post; this had grown to scandalous proportions, but the Governors and Disavas, who expected and received from the Mudaliyars similar tokens of gratitude proportionate to their own exalted stations, found it convenient to wink at the abuse. Fortunately temptation had not yet been intensified by depriving headmen of their *badavedili* without providing a fair substitute.

Falck and his successor tried hard to cope with the scandal, but the weight of the entire public service was cast into the scale against them. Both strove to improve the finances by insisting on probity in all Departments, introducing a reasonable amount of order in the administration, suppressing extravagance, and simplifying the collection of revenue. They met with a fair measure of success, and Van der Graaf was able to relieve the strain caused by the military expenditure; it was claimed that he increased the revenue by one half.

Taking everything into consideration, the condition of the Sinhalese within the Settlements had improved since the expulsion of the Portu-

guese and their number had increased, but was still almost beyond doubt under half a million. The poverty of the villager was very great ; money was scarce, and nearly all the trade was in the hands of the Burghers. The Company no doubt was an exacting task-master, but it assured the infinite blessing of peace ; the misdoings of Portuguese times were now a memory of the past, and the villager had the certainty that some portion at least of his labour would enure to his own benefit ; he had a fair measure of personal security, and a reasonable likelihood of even-handed justice ; his children had the chance of acquiring some slight knowledge of letters, and no one could drive him away arbitrarily from his holding. This was a great deal gained.

In the case of the upper classes the effect was more marked ; their social manners and customs were changing, though not with the same rapidity as under the Portuguese. Intermarriage, so common in the time of the latter, was no longer in favour; it is doubtful if a dozen Sinhalese of position took wives from among the Hollanders and since the beginning of the century it was officially discouraged, for the two generations which had sprung up since the occupation of Galle in 1640, had produced enough daughters with European fathers, to satisfy the Hollanders' needs. No respectable Sinhalese, except perhaps the one or two who had been to Europe, wore European costume ; indeed in 1741 two high-born maiden ladies disinherited the young man who was their next of kin, on the ground of his adopting European clothes and manners. The Maha Mudaliyar still appeared barefooted before the Governor, and never presumed to sit down in his presence.

Substantial houses were taking the place of the mud walls of their grandfathers, and this was especially the case in towns like Colombo and Matara. Articles of calamander and ebony were to be seen in some, though in limited quantities ; occasionally porcelain and Venetian glass of these times are still found with their descendants. The jewels worn by ladies, which had degenerated under the Portuguese, were replaced by skilful copies of European models, sometimes set with diamonds and emeralds. A betel box of ivory or tortoise-shell mounted with gold was as necessary to a great lady, as a silver tea-service is today. Rice fields formed the most important kind of landed property, but coconut plantations were fast increasing in number, though the size of individual lands was not great ; a hundred acres would have been exceptional. Since 1780 the demand for arrack had led to an increase in the number of distilleries along the coast, and their owners made much money. The price of nuts rose to 12 rix dollars a thousand in 1796, but the heavy cost of transport to Colombo affected the profits.

The Hollander loved his food and his wife cooked it well, and the wealthier Sinhalese followed him in this, though at a great distance. We read of a Sinhalese funeral assembly, when according to " the Colombo fashion," the mourners were served with " wine, beer, bacon, cheese, butter, bread, gin, brandy, other kinds of wine, and sweetmeats." A few spoons and forks of silver were to be seen at their tables, and their rooms were lit not only by tall brass lamps, but occasionally by globes of glass suspended from the roof, and containing a wick floating in coconut oil. The rich had slaves as domestics, though not to the same extent as European officials ; twenty one were mentioned by name in Abayasinha's Last Will.

At marriages and funerals conducted according to Christian rites, the customs of the Hollanders were generally followed, and the *koronchi* or crowning of the bride on her return home from the Church is still practised. Among non-Christians Sinhalese marriage ceremonies were observed; the bride and the bridegroom were placed on the white-covered *Magul Poruva*, sprinkled with rice, and after the groom had presented the bride with a gold chain and a cloth, their thumbs were tied together with a thread, and water or milk poured over them. As a rule rings also were exchanged between them.

Jaffna alone had not advanced on the wave of prosperity, though even at this time it had the reputation of being the Province were Officials made the largest and most rapid fortunes ; in spite of the ceaseless industry of its people, it was said to be getting poorer, and more lands were sold there in satisfaction of debts than in any other part of the country. There had recently been an outbreak of serious crime: arson, stabbing, cutting off the ear lobes and housebreaking were alarmingly frequent and the remedy suggested was to appoint a Captain of the thief-catchers in each Province; he would be allowed a *ranchu* of Lascarins and be responsible for suppressing crime. Where property was stolen and not recovered, he would have to make good its value in return for a small annual contribution from each family within his jurisdiction. The scheme received little support from the Colombo authorities.

Probably less than half a million souls formed that remnant of the Sinhalese which still boasted a nominal independence under its Dravidian Monarch. Little could be said of it except that it still existed, for the struggle of the East against the intrusion of the West, so long and so tenaciously maintained, was nearly over. Laws and customs had not altered since Kotte was abandoned and Alagiyavanna sang the glories of Ra Siha Deviyo's Sitavaka. Stagnation, intellectual, material and moral, oppressed it like a nightmare ; life was a long drudgery, a weary struggle

for food and a little clothing, relieved only by the excitement of a visit to a Viharaya with its rich-toned and sometimes beautiful paintings. The comforts and refinements of life were unknown ; wealth, as found along the sea coast, was not heard of. Trade was of the scantiest, and monopolised by the men in power ; means of communication were primitive ; manufactures hardly existed, and the amount of coin in circulation was strictly limited ; the King's money revenue was probably less than that of some of the Mudaliyars in the Company's service.

Public works were nearly unknown, while much was done for religious edifices. The Sinhalese man had little to hope for, nothing to aspire to ; he was discouraged from cultivating more than was needed to supply the bare necessities of life ; he was full of gratitude if that life was safe and his plantation remained unplundered ; he was exultant if he obtained a little coin by selling his arecanuts. Beyond that he had no outlook. It is a depressing picture, but the inheritance of a great past preserved in him the seed of future possibilities.

There was one matter which militated against the general prosperity of the Settlements, and that was the question of exchange. From the beginning a variety of coins had been accepted as currency by the Company ; and Sinhalese silver *ridi* or *larin*, copper *massas* and gold *fanams*, many Portuguese issues of Goa and Colombo, even Persian, German and Spanish coins were in circulation. The most popular were the thin copper duits struck by several Provinces of the Netherlands, and imported in large quantities, with a small proportion of silver stivers, schellings, florins and ducatoons. Gold pagodas from the Tutucorin mint which was under the supervision of Colombo, and various other pagodas of South India were accepted according to their metal value compared with the ducatoon. The local copper issue consisted of the thick stivers, weighing thirty to a pound, which were minted at a high profit in the island, along with the two-stiver pieces and fractions of the stiver. A few silver rupees also were issued by Falck and Van der Graaf.

Goods required for the Settlements were imported mainly from Holland and Batavia in Company's vessels, the cost being met by bills on those countries on which the Company made a profit. Imports from India were balanced in part by exports from Ceylon, leaving a large excess to be paid for in gold and silver. The quantity of these metals in the country was extremely small, and in view of the financial embarrassments subsequent to 1780, Van der Graaf conceived the idea of issuing a paper currency in the form of notes called *Kredit Brieven*, payable to the bearer in copper at a fixed rate. All Treasury payments were made in these notes or in copper, and in a short time the supply of silver and

gold coin available for export to India was exhausted; he therefore proceeded to sell them by public auction, and in ten years a ducatoon, worth eighty stivers under the Company's regulations, was being sold for a hundred. At the same time in the case of remittances to Holland the Treasury insisted that at least half the sum should be tendered in silver. This exchange was carried on at the original rate, and officials remitting their salaries to the mother country, shared in the profit; while the price of grain, cotton, and other goods from India, rose fast and the consumer suffered heavily. The value of the ducatoon had originally fixed the rate of exchange, but now the copper coin became the real standard, and exchange was adjusted in accordance with the actual value of the copper contained in the stiver. This copper was much depreciated, and in 1787 coins were struck from old brass guns melted down for the purpose, thereby adding to the complexity of the situation. The demand for coin of the purer metal in Sinhale, where it was converted into household utensils, was also a factor of appreciable weight.

Disturbing rumours began to reach Ceylon towards the end of 1793 that France had declared war on Holland and England, and with a heavy heart Van der Graaf once again turned to those military problems which were so repugnant to the Company. The available forces consisted of 4,000 infantry, including the de Meuron and Wurtemberg regiments of mercenaries, with 700 Artillery. There were also two small bodies of well trained Lascarins in charge of the Maha Mudaliyar at Colombo and the Atapattu Mudaliyar at Galle respectively, as well as some Moors at Batticaloa. Orders were given to have the forts in readiness against possible hostilities, and Trikuna Male was placed at the disposal of the British war-ships. Karikal and Pondicherri were soon occupied by British troops, but French frigates were cruising about the Indian waters; and Van der Graaf, while sending 800 men to assist in defending the Indian coast, had to appeal to Fort St. George for effective protection by sea.

In the meantime he received his appointment as Director General at Batavia, and on the 10th of January, 1794, his father-in-law, Van Angelbeek, arrived from the Choromandel Coast to succeed him; he left in August, having four months before with Van Angelbeek, accompanied the body of his trusted Maha Mudaliyar to the grave. Abayasinha died at the age of seventy five years, and was buried with all the honours usually accorded to his high office; sixteen of the Company's Sergeants carried his coffin to the grave, over which a company of soldiers fired three volleys of musketry. On the following day Abayaratna, the second Maha Mudaliyar, was appointed in his place.

Hardly had Van der Graaf left the country when unpleasantness arose with the British, who had long regarded with envious eyes the rich trade in the cotton goods of South India which the Hollanders enjoyed, and now made a bold bid to obtain some portion of this for themselves. Thereupon in August the Hollanders seized a British vessel with a cargo of piece goods, claiming a monopoly in the trade under a series of treaties dating from 1690, and by prescriptive right. They maintained that their right was recognised even in the treaty which Buchanan signed on the Navab's behalf as the result of the active interference of Governor Campbell, insisting that all vessels trading on that coast must obtain their passport, and were liable to be searched.

Lord Hobart at Madras refused to acknowledge this claim. The Nayaker, he argued, could not bind his successors in this fashion ; even if he could, the Navab who succeeded him by right of conquest, was not only not bound by his acts, but was himself barred by prior treaties from entering into any agreement with a European power without British consent, and the British, he said, declined to ratify Buchanan's treaty. After much wrangling, in June 1795 Van Angelbeek agreed to his proposal to refer the question to Europe.

In December 1794 the French entered the Netherlands; the Hereditary Stadtholder fled to England for safety, and a new Batavian Republic was established over the United Provinces, in alliance with France. Barely had the last dispatch about the Indian dispute left Colombo, when a letter arrived from Hobart with one from the late Stadtholder, dated Kew, 7th February, 1795, requesting Van Angelbeek to admit his Britannic Majesty's men and ships within the Settlements and to treat them as allies coming to protect them from the French.

On the strength of this Hobart claimed immediate possession of the Settlements, with an assurance that they would be restored when the independence of the States was re-established by a general Peace. He promised to maintain the existing laws and customs, to impose no fresh taxes, and to leave the internal trade entirely free ; all officers would continue to serve till the pleasure of the British King was known, and the men would be taken over on the existing terms. He concluded by stating that a military force had already started for Trikuna Male in case of resistance being offered to the contemplated occupation.

The Council replied on 27th July that the Stadtholder had said nothing about handing over the Settlements ; but it was ready to assist their vessels and receive garrisons at Colombo and Trikuna Male, provided the Madras authorities would defray the expenses till such time as matters could be adjusted in Europe. Hobart's messenger, Major

Agnew, and two Hollanders, started at once with this reply for Trikuna Male, where the British fleet under Commodore Rainier, with a small army under Colonel Stuart, had already arrived. On 2nd August communications were opened with Major Fornbauer, who was in command of the forts, when Agnew arrived with the Governor's reply. The British were willing to accept the terms offered, but Fornbauer refused to agree on the ground that the letter was signed not by the members of the Council but by Van Angelbeek alone. Stuart thereupon landed his men at a point two miles from the Fort, losing in the process a frigate which struck on a sunken rock. The small garrison made a good defence, the Malays, with their Gurkha-like tactics, entering one of the British batteries, killing the artillery men, and spiking the guns. The fire from the walls caused some loss of life, but at the end of three weeks a breach was effected, and Fornbauer, one of the few brave officers the Company possessed, was forced to surrender ; by the terms of the capitulation, which was signed on 26th August, the garrison was allowed the honours of war. Five days latter Fort Ostenberg also fell, and British troops were sent to occupy Batticaloa.

The Court was watching events with much satisfaction, and kept the British well supplied with provisions. Robert Andrews, a Senior Merchant in their Company's service, had accompanied the expedition to Ceylon, where he was destined to leave behind an evil name. On 15th September he started from Trikuna Male with a letter from Hobart to the King, who received him in audience on the 29th, with the same ceremonial as had been followed in the case of Pybus.

Pilima Talauva and Aravvavala, the Adikars, and the Council of Ministers, showed themselves capable men of business. Andrews' first request was for a site belonging to the King, where his Company could erect a fort and build a factory ; it was imperative, he insisted, that this should be a spot to which the Hollanders could have no claim. The Ministers in return demanded a guarantee that nothing taken from the Hollanders would at any time be returned to them. Andrews could not agree to this, but suggested that the inland districts taken from the King might be restored to him instead. He also claimed the same trade monopoly as the Hollanders ; but the Ministers, while agreeing to give preference to the British, reserved to themselves the right to sell to any other nation which was willing to pay a higher price.

He tried to obtain a copy of the arrangements existing with the Hollanders, but was curtly refused. The preliminaries of a Treaty were signed on 12th October and he returned to Trikuna Male with Dumbara Rala, a son of the conqueror of Hanvalla, and another who were authorised

to continue negotiations at Madras. Meanwhile a British force had landed at Point Pedro, and being joined by fresh men from Nagapatnam, advanced on Jaffnapatnam. On the 28th of September Stuart sent to the garrison, consisting of a few Sepoys and some invalid officers, a summons to surrender ; resistance was out of the question, and the fine fort, on which so much money and labour had been spent, yielded without firing a shot.

On 12th November Dumbara Rala arrived by land at Jaffna, from where the Sinhalese Mission, consisting of over a hundred souls, took ship for the Continent. The frankness of Lord Hobart, who plainly stated that the question of the entire exclusion of the Hollanders could be decided only in Europe, caused bitter disappointment to the Sinhalese; but after much wrangling a Treaty was signed on Friday the 12th of February, 1796. By this the British Company undertook to protect the King and the Buddhist religion, receiving in return possession of the entire coast and the districts annexed thereto with the monopoly of the trade with Sinhale. It agreed to restore to the King all inland Districts forcibly taken by the Hollanders, with a suitable place from which his subjects could be furnished with salt and fish. The King promised to allow the Company a site for a fort or factory to which the Hollanders had no title, and received the right to employ ten vessels free of duty for his own trade. The Company bound itself to do nothing relative to the King or any part of the Island, except what was captured from the Hollanders, without his consent, and the formalities to be observed at the reception of Ambassadors were carefully regulated. This Treaty had to be ratified by the King within a fixed period, but by the time Dumbara Rala returned a great change had taken place.

With the fall of Trikuna Male the Council realised that hostilities could not be avoided and active preparations were made to defend Colombo, the artillery being re-arranged so as to command all points from which danger was expected, fresh batteries raised, the surrounding country cleared of the trees and houses which might impede the action of the guns, and the Moors formed into three companies of coolies. The tanks within the Fort were filled with drinking water, and all private wells cleaned out and put into order ; a large quantity of live stock was collected, and stores of dried fish, rice and arrack laid in, while people from outside who sought refuge within the walls were ordered to bring provisions sufficient for six months. The cinnamon at the various outstations was removed to the stores at Colombo, but much had to be abandoned at Galle for lack of means of transport.

About this time two vessels arrived from Batavia with official information of the Treaty entered into between Holland and France, whereupon all effective troops were ordered back to Colombo from Jaffna, the Vanni and Mannar. A few days after the surrender of Jaffna, Agnew appeared at Colombo with a letter from Hobart, informing Van Angelbeek that Count de Meuron, the proprietor of the regiment which bore his name, had transferred its services to the British by an agreement entered into on 30th March, and demanding that the men should be handed over to him.

Agnew was lodged within the fort and was hospitably entertained by Van Angelbeek, with whom he dined every day; he thus had the opportunity of observing from the Governor's balcony all the preparations which were being made to resist the enemy. In spite of a defiant reply which Van Angelbeek promptly despatched to Hobart, his attitude towards the regiment was noteworthy. A large number of the men were French or Hollanders and had no desire to take service under the British, but the Governor, it was said, urged them to go; vessels for their transport were lacking, and the Company's sloops were placed at their disposal for a small consideration, while the sick who could not travel were kept in the Company's hospital and looked after as if still in its service.

Pieter van Schuler, Disava of Matara, and the other officials withdrew to Galle, after entrusting the Disavani with the records to the Atapattu Mudaliyar, Don David Illangakon, on 13th January, 1796, but the Council decided to abandon Galle and remove the artillery from there to Colombo. British vessels were cruising about the coast, and even landing men to obtain provisions; the shore batteries were accordingly manned at night, but strict instructions were given that no gun was to be fired without the Governor's orders. The vessels passed and repassed, approaching Colombo quite close at night, yet the order to fire never came. A French vessel entered the harbour, commanded by a Hollander who offered to capture the British vessels if he were furnished with some artillery men, but his offer was not entertained.

In January, 1796, Colonel Stuart's army was collected at Rameswaram, and on the 10th started from there in open boats. Every evening the men landed for rest, and no opposition was encountered. The Company's officers at Kalpitiya and Chilaw withdrew to Colombo, and a military force sent as far as Kaymel followed their example; not a soldier was seen within the square fort in Negombo, built with the special object of protecting the chief cinnamon district. The British occupied the place, where they were joined by Vikramasinha Mudaliyar, who was able to keep them supplied with provisions.

The fertility and healthfulness of the country charmed the newcomers ; coconut groves and rich fields lay on every side, fish and foodstuffs were abundant, the population was large and industrious and trading vessels frequented the small harbour. A fairly good road, probably the best the Company had formed in Ceylon, connected the town with Colombo. No attempt was made to bar the advance of the army, and Stuart reached the Kelani Ganga unopposed.

Dry rot had set in among the Hollanders. That retribution which so surely awaits the commercial race which has no ideal beyond the exploitation of another's country for its own aggrandisement, had fallen upon them, for their one aim was the speedy acquisition of wealth. The indomitable courage which once defied the might of Philip of Spain, had dissolved in the ardent heat of a tropical sun. If Captain Robert Percival, who arrived in Ceylon in this very year, is to be believed, the Hollander began his day with gin and tobacco, and ended it with tobacco and gin. In the interval he fed grossly, lounged about, indulged in the essential siesta and transacted a little business. The women folk, who spent most of their time chewing betel and gossiping in Portuguese with their slaves, did not come up to the somewhat exacting standard of the fastidious Captain.

Over 2,500 Europeans, Malays, Moors, and Sepoys were still available to defend Colombo, with five hundred fierce Chalias trained to work among forests, and the Lascarins ; such a force fighting behind walls, could well defy an invading army for a long time. It was expected that the passage of the Kelani Ganga would be stoutly defended by the batteries on the Colombo side, and the Company's troops occupied the river bank from Pas Betal, the scene of so many bloody fights between Sinhalese and Portuguese, as far as Nagalagama. Stuart spent two days in making his preparations, till on 9th February the bulk of the defending force withdrew towards Mutwal, and at 5 p.m. the British began to cross.

A few shots were fired at them from the nearest battery, and then the men threw the guns into the water and disappeared, while the British hurried across on bamboo rafts and occupied a strong position where they could be supported by their vessels. The King's forces too were approaching Colombo from the East to assist them. Within the fort everything was in confusion, discipline had ceased to exist, the officers were not anxious to expose themselves to the enemy's bullets, and the men had lost their *morale*. By degrees the various detachments in the field retired till they assembled at Korteboom, backed by the forest which then existed in the neighbourhood. An enemy frigate approached the

harbour, whereupon some of the batteries opened fire, but the officers in command were immediately placed under arrest for doing so without the Governor's orders.

On 12th February at 3 a.m. a body of Malays, whose tactics and sharp krises were alike a matter of apprehension to the British, stole out with some deserters from the de Meuron regiment, and a gallant Frenchman, Colonel Raymond, of the late Luxemburg Regiment ; some Hollanders accompanied them, but not further than the outer wall. The attempt at surprise failed and the Malays were driven back, Raymond being mortally wounded. The British now advanced to Korteboom, whereupon Kayman's Gate was closed and all the military retired within the Castle, leaving behind a few Malays in charge. On the 13th the British approached the Gate, and encamped near the ruins of a Portuguese battery ; the men who had fought in 1656 within that battery for the possession of this beautiful Island had been cast in a different mould from those who, skulking behind the walls of Colombo, still claimed that coveted prize. The majority of the native troops had already deserted and Van Angelbeek and the Council now opened secret negociations. No further opposition was offered, and the only excitement was that caused by a couple of buffaloes straying within the British lines ; for the alarm was given, and the guards firing widly had the misfortune to kill two of their own men.

At one p.m. on the 14th, Major Agnew appeared at Kayman's Gate, and Van Angelbeek's carriage conveyed him to the Castle, where he was received by the Council : after a long interview he returned to the camp in the evening. There were wild rumours of an immediate suspension of hostilities, and the troops were mutinous, for they feared that they were going to be betrayed. Early in the morning of the 16th firing, all directed at the Governor's house, broke out from various parts of the Fort, but in a short time the announcement was made that hostilities were ended. At 10 o'clock in the morning the Company's possessions in the Island were surrendered to the British, and its military forces, with undamaged limbs and uncrumpled tunics, marched out of the Castle.

It was believed both at the time and also after Van Angelbeek's death, that he had sold himself to the British, and that was probably the case ; at any rate he burnt less powder in defending Colombo, than Jan Schreuder had fired in honour of one letter to the Sinhalese King.

THE END

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